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THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL:

AN EXPERIMENT IN COMPROMISE

by



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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "THE
MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL: AN EXPERIMENT IN COMPROMISE"
submitted by Beatrice E. Garrow in partial fulfilment of the require-
ments for the degree of Master of Arts. *A*

ABSTRACT

The Manchester and Salford Education Bill of 1852 has been assigned a relatively modest place in the history of the struggle to establish a national system of education in England and Wales. The basic premise of this inquiry is that those who introduced the Bill in the Commons and who refused to accept its defeat as final exerted a much greater influence on the course of events which led to the settlement of the education question in 1870 than has been commonly recognized. This conclusion has been reached after an examination of speeches of Members of Parliament and of the Reports from the Select Committee on Education in Manchester and Salford. Comparison of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill with other legislative attempts made between 1854 and 1867, and with the successful Elementary Education Bill of 1870 have provided additional justification for this conclusion. Pamphlets and a rather limited number of books provided material for the account of the different parties involved in the controversy over the education of the poor.

From the time of the Reformation, State and Church in England and Wales were theoretically one, but education was considered the sole duty of the latter. After 1660 the monopoly of the Church in this field was vigorously denied by the large body of Dissenters, Roman Catholic and Protestant, who made up a substantial portion of the people of the nation. For many years the various denominations, aided by benevolent citizens, operated such schools as there were for pupils whose parents

could not afford to send them to the more expensive institutions. However, with the increasing population demands for a more effective system were voiced but to little avail.

The first major change in the established system followed the First Reform Act of 1832. Dissenters now sat in Parliament, and many accepted customs and traditions were questioned. A motion in the Commons for "universal education, free, secular, and compulsory" by the Radicals forced the Whig government to offer an annual subsidy to the common elementary schools. This first step in government interference in education was accepted without objection. Opinion changed in 1839 when the government proposed, through the Committee of Council and inspectors, to take a more active role in the administration of the institutions that received public aid. In spite of the objections by the Established Church, few changes were made in the plan. Sir Robert Peel's scheme to extend factory education in 1843, and place it under the control of the Church raised a storm of protest from the Nonconformist. So bitter was their opposition that many joined together to form the Voluntaryists, a group which rejected all government interference and were determined to operate their schools by charitable donations. The majority of the religious denominations, however, had accepted the principle of state interference by 1846. With the growing population and the economic depression, soon the grants were inadequate and consideration once again turned to additional methods of financing.

Manchester, which had provided the centre for the activities of the Anti-Corn Law League, now became the centre of a new debate over the question of education and rate-aid. The Secularists, supported by many Radicals and former members of the League, revived the revolutionary scheme

of 1833 but with the omission of the demand that education should be made compulsory. In reply to the threat to the religious basis of the denominational schools and to their very existence, members of the Established Church sought the cooperation of other religious groups and together they organized the Denominationalist Party. Like the Secularist party, the Denominationalists advocated rate-aid and free education but to the existing schools supported by the various churches. So sincerely did the members of this party believe in this solution that it was made the basis of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill.

The threat to civil and religious liberty that was seen in the principle of rate-aid led to the rejection in the Commons not only of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill but also to the two bills introduced by the Secularists. As a result, the Secularists and the Denominationalists of Manchester united, and together drew up a series of legislative measures between 1857 and 1868. Each of these was a modified version of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill, and in each the principle of rate-aid to the denominational schools first stated in the original measure was retained. Those in Manchester who worked for educational reform were firmly convinced that the majority of the people of England and Wales preferred education on a religious basis. Through the close association of W. E. Forster with the group in Manchester, many of the ideas which had been recommended for almost twenty years reappeared in the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Not the least of these was the safeguarding of the denominational schools.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Public Documents

- P.P. Parliamentary Papers
- Parl. Debates Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. All Parliamentary Debates referred to are from the Third Series with the exception of Cobbett's which are indicated. Consequently, Third Series has been omitted from references to this source in the footnotes.

Books and Pamphlets

- J. W. Adamson, *English Education 1789-1902: English Education.*
- W. F. Connell, *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold: Educational Thought.*
- M. Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education: Church and State.*
- N. Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics 1832-1852: Reaction and Reconstruction.*
- W. F. Hook, *On the Means of Rendering More Efficient the Education of the People: On the Means of Rendering More Efficient.*
- S. E. Maltby, *Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education 1800-1870: National Elementary Education.*
- F. Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth: Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.*
- F. Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902: English Elementary Education.*
- C. Richson, *A Sketch of Some of the Causes, which, in Manchester Induced the Abandonment of the Voluntary System in the Support of the Schools and the Introduction of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill: A Sketch of Some Causes.*
- C. Richson, *The Scheme of Secular Education Prepared by the National Public School Association Compared with the Manchester and Salford Boroughs Education Bill: The Scheme of Secular Education.*

CHAPTER I

THE ISSUES OF THE EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSY

On July 30th, 1833 scarcely more than a year after the First Reform Bill became law John Arthur Roebuck, Member of Parliament for Bath, introduced the following resolution in the House of Commons:

That this House deeply impressed with the necessity of providing for a due education of the people at large, and believing that to this end the aid and care of the State are absolutely needed, will early during the next session of Parliament proceed to devise a means for the universal and national education of the whole people.¹

To establish this system of national education, Roebuck proposed that England and Wales be divided into school districts administered by locally elected school boards under the supervision of a Minister of Public Instruction who would also act as the head of a Department of Education. In the schools provided by the government education would be free to every child between the ages of six and twelve. Attendance would be made compulsory. Roebuck's scheme was not limited to this group, for he recommended the establishment of infant schools, technical schools, normal schools for the training of teachers, and evening schools for young people and adults.² What he was postulating was "public instruction, universal, compulsory, gratuitous, and secular," the programme first formulated by the politicians of the French Revolution and later adopted by the Philosophic Radicals of England.³

That education should be secular was to provide one of the themes of the controversy which arose over attempts to provide a national system of elementary education.⁴ But the presence of this

theme was not the only significance of Roebuck's resolution. Because of the threat which his suggestions posed to the existing voluntary and denominational schools, the Whig government was hurried into bringing forward a more moderate alternative: that of annual grants from the Treasury to aid in the supplying of school buildings.⁵ This action was a noteworthy contribution in itself, but its greater importance lay in the fact that for the first time the government assumed some responsibility for education. To the recognized duty of the state as the guardian of peace at home and abroad was added, however tentatively and timidly, a sense of public obligation for the welfare of its citizenry. From this changing concept of the function of the government, education came to be regarded as an individual right rather than a charitable exercise on the part of the benevolent in aid of the deserving poor. Government grants to schools implied a new threat to the claim of the Established Church to hold a monopoly over the supervision of education; a claim which was being challenged with increasing vigour by the Dissenters. Thus two additional themes in the controversy appear: the struggle between the two religious groups and the struggle between Church and State.

The position of the Established Church in England and Wales was paradoxical. In principle it was one with the state, but what was alleged in principle was not acknowledged in fact. Legal recognition of Nonconformity implicitly affirmed in the Clarendon Code after the Restoration and made explicit by the Toleration Act of 1689, disrupted the theoretical unity of Church and State and the nation was divided into two religious groups, Anglicans and Dissenters. Nevertheless equality before the law for the latter did not follow from legal

recognition. By the terms of the Corporation Act of 1660, Protestant Nonconformists could not in principle hold local administrative offices while the Test Act of 1673 excluded Roman Catholics from sitting in Parliament and from all state offices.⁶ Bills passed in 1778, 1779, and 1791 allowed first Protestant Dissenters and then Roman Catholics to teach publicly, but both were still barred from degrees and teaching positions in the universities and the great Public schools.⁷

In spite of legal recognition of the Dissenters, the claim of the Established Church to hold sole jurisdiction over education was not seriously questioned during the eighteenth century. The greater part of any training the children of the poor received was in charity schools supported by all religious groups as well as benevolent individuals who were anxious to teach every child to read the Bible. Religious education was one motive for providing schools, but a second was derived from John Locke's philosophy of learning and his theory that man's lot in life was determined by his environment. Consequently, the key to improving the condition of the poor was seen to lie in educating the unfortunate so that they could help themselves.⁸ Robert Raikes' Sunday School movement, begun in 1780, was a plan designed to bring civilizing influences to bear on the children working in the factories which had sprung up in the new industrial towns.⁹ Anglicans and Dissenters cooperated in this venture, and as late as 1803 members of both groups sat on the board of the Sunday School Union.¹⁰

This cooperation, however, was soon to be ended in conditions arising from the growing social problems which accompanied the Industrial Revolution in England, and the intellectual revolution which had its source in France. The terrible conditions in the new towns during the

long war, the fear of seditious ideas expounded in the writing of Thomas Paine, and the radical policies of the Corresponding Societies led to a change in attitude toward education.¹¹ Even though the number of Sunday schools had increased from 201 in 1787 to 1,086 in 1799, many people came to believe that the growing unrest of the times demanded something more than these institutions could offer. It was generally agreed that they provided effective moral and religious training, but for secular education day schools seemed to be required.¹² The answer to this demand for a cheap and efficient method of educating the children of the poor was supplied by the mutual or monitorial system claimed on the one hand to have been originated by Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker; and on the other by Alexander Bell, an Anglican clergyman.¹³

The ideas of these two men were to have far-reaching consequences. The basic principle of their system, that one master could train some of the brighter children as monitors who in turn would teach their fellow students, was to form the basis of instruction in the elementary schools for more than fifty years. Secondly, the dispute between the two men over which had founded the system was but the forerunner of the much more serious educational controversy between the Anglicans and the Dissenters. Those who supported Alexander Bell organized "The National Society for Promoting Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church" in 1811. Three years later the followers of Joseph Lancaster formed "The British and Foreign School Society."

The purpose of both societies was to aid in the establishment and maintenance of schools for the poor where voluntary contributions were inadequate. They were divided, however, on the question of religious teaching. The National Society stated that "the National

Religion should be made the foundation of National Education and should be the first thing taught to the poor, according to the Liturgy and Catechism provided by our Church."¹⁴ Schools affiliated with the British and Foreign School Society were also based on religious principles but were undenominational in the sense that no creed particular to any church was to be taught. Reading from the Bible and the teaching of general Christian precepts provided the religious training offered.¹⁵ Dissenters' demands for a "conscience clause" exempting their children from learning specific "creeds and formularies" when they were compelled to attend National Schools in districts where there were no others led to bitter feelings.

During the period from 1795 until 1833 the more advanced ideas on education were held by those who supported one or the other Society. Opposed to them was a very large group who saw no need to provide education for the poor. The strength of this opinion was shown in 1807 when Samuel Whitbread introduced the Parochial Schools Bill in the Commons. Designed to provide free schools supported by local rates for children whose parents could not afford to pay the fees, the measure raised a storm of protest. Davies Giddy, one of the members of Parliament, contended that the cost would prove exorbitant, "that education would be prejudicial to the morals and happiness of the poor, that they would come to despise their lot in life instead of being contented to remain good workers in agriculture and industry," and "that they would become fractious and refractory." In addition, education would lead to their reading "seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity." Such a scheme was, he concluded, nothing less than "the taxing of virtue for the maintenance of vice."¹⁶

In the House of Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that the implementation of the Bill would "subvert the first principle of education in this country, which had hitherto been and [he] hoped it would continue to be, under the control and auspices of the Establishment."¹⁷ Others saw in Whitbread's suggestion a dangerous first step in state intervention, but the strongest opposition came from those who could discern no positive value in education as such. As a result the measure was withdrawn and the first attempt to establish schools supported by rate-aid was a failure.

The troubled times in England from 1815 to 1819 were responsible to a large extent for a gradual change in attitude. To reconcile the working classes to their lot in life, to teach them their place, and to bring them to recognize where their best interests lay were some of the reasons now put forward for educating the poor.¹⁸ To preserve order and to protect property were the ends sought. That opinion was still widely divided over the method of providing education was again evident in the reaction to Henry Brougham's Parish School Bill of 1820. His suggestions went much farther than Whitbread's for he proposed for the first time that children should be compelled to attend schools which would be supported by local rates. Management of the local institutions was to be the responsibility of the Anglican clergy. This brought immediate outcries from the Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics who saw a threat to religious liberty. In spite of the favourable clauses, the Established Church feared the intervention of the state through the establishment of local taxation.¹⁹ Brougham, like Whitbread thirteen years earlier, withdrew his Bill and no further effort was made until 1843 to introduce a system of elementary education

by legislative means.

Until 1833, then, the government took no part in providing schools for the poor. If children of the working classes attended at all, they had the choice of enrolling in a private school operated by a "dame" or a master who attempted to make the venture profitable, or in a public school supported by voluntary contributions and aid from either the National Society or the British and Foreign School Society. Regardless of which the pupils selected, they would be expected in the majority of cases to pay a weekly fee for the instruction they received.²⁰ It was to replace this system that Roebuck introduced his resolution in the Commons.

Three legislative measures adopted shortly before 1833 were to have an important effect on political, social, economic, and religious life in England and Wales. The first of these measures was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, a step which made Protestant Dissenters eligible for all municipal and state offices. The second was the Emancipation Act of 1829 which extended full citizenship to Roman Catholics. The third was the Reform Act of 1832 which opened the doors of Parliament to the representatives of the middle class, many of whom were Dissenters. These changes in turn affected the development of elementary education, but the issues remained basically the same. Only a relatively few Radicals advocated that education should be universal, secular, free, and compulsory. The Established Church still affirmed by virtue of its position control of all education, but this was in reality a hollow claim. Rather than representing the congregation of the Church alone, Parliament was now made up of Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and a wide variety of Dissenters.²¹ Any

attempt to legislate in the field of education would be regarded with suspicion by one denomination or the other.

However, there was relatively little controversy on this subject from 1833 until 1839. The annual grant of £20,000 which was the Government's reply to Roebuck's resolution was divided almost equally between the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society with little regard for the number of schools which each organization assisted. The Dissenters regarded the £9,000 which they received with satisfaction since they supported relatively few institutions in comparison with their rivals.²² Because the two societies were not subject to government intervention in the administration of the grants, little objection was raised to the principle of state aid.

Growing unrest among the working classes was to bring about a change in attitude on the part of the government. Alarmed by the Chartist threat which culminated in the presentation of the National Petition to the Commons in 1839, a policy of active intervention in education was adopted.²³ Under the direction of Lord John Russell, Home Secretary in Lord Melbourne's Whig ministry, several innovations were proposed, which were viewed with considerable alarm by those who considered the support of the schools the concern of the religious denominations and voluntary benevolence. The grants were increased from £20,000 to £30,000 annually and a much larger share was assigned to the National Society in recognition of its greater burden. The administration of the grants was taken from the two Societies and assigned to the newly created government agency, the Committee of Council on Education. Four ministers of the Crown: the Lord President of the Privy Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Home Secretary, and the

Chancellor of the Exchequer were the permanent members.²⁴ Dr. James Kay-Shuttleworth was appointed as the secretary, a position he was to hold for the next eleven years.²⁵ Government inspectors who were to visit and report on all schools which accepted the grants were to represent the new interest of the state. In addition teachers were to be trained in government supported normal schools to which were attached practice schools attended by pupils of different ages. Secular and religious education were to be separated and the classes in religion were to be taught by clergymen of the Established Church and ministers of the Dissenting faiths. Students were to be free to attend the class of their choice.²⁶

Opposition to Russell's plan was directed first against the nature and constitution of the Committee of Council. As a special branch of the Privy Council it was criticized as being neither representative nor responsible to the Commons. The right to administer public funds and to carry out inspection was considered unwarranted intervention by the state. Furthermore Dissenters saw in the proportional reduction of their share of the grants a step designed to strengthen the unity between the Church and the State.²⁷ But far greater resistance came from the Established Church which regarded Russell's scheme as a direct threat to its ancient right to supervise national education. It saw this threat expressed clearly in the proposal to employ government inspectors and in the special religious concessions granted to Dissenters in the schools where teachers were to be trained. The Wesleyan Methodists joined the Anglicans and together they brought such pressure to bear on Melbourne's government that the plan for teacher-training institutions was abandoned.²⁸ As a further concession all

inspectors who visited National Schools were to be first approved by the Archbishop of the province in which these schools were located.²⁹ Efforts to remove the Committee of Council as a rival organization to the Established Church failed.³⁰ The principle of state intervention in education was established, but at the expense of a marked deterioration in relationship between Anglican and Dissenter.

That the majority of the members of parliament approved of the Whig policy in education was illustrated by Sir Robert Peel's decision to retain the Committee of Council, grants, and inspection established by Russell and his predecessors. The continued unrest in the country demanded, if anything, an extension of government interest, and the form this was to take became apparent after Sir James Graham introduced the Factory Bill in the Commons in 1843. As a part of general factory reform, he proposed to improve the education of the many children who were supposed to attend school for part of the day and to work the other part. Consequently he recommended that the schools be built from government loans and maintained from the poor rates. Believing mistakenly that it was members of the Established Church who were most sensitive, he proposed placing the control of these schools in the hands of the clergy, while a "conscience clause" to safeguard the religious liberty of children of the Dissenters was to be mandatory.³¹ Debates which followed the presentation of Graham's motion showed that it was the latter group who were to register the greatest disapproval. He was accused of attempting "to bring the whole of the education of the country to the Church, and thus to sacrifice the interest and the conscientious feeling of Catholics and Dissenters alike."³² Opposition was not confined to the debates in the Commons. The cause of the

Nonconformists was taken up by Edward Baines, the capable editor of the *Leeds Mercury*. Sir James Graham withdrew the Bill in the face of 13,369 Dissenting petitions bearing 2,068,059 signatures.³³

As the Whig policy in education had shown the strength of the Anglicans in 1839, so innovations proposed by the Tories showed that of the Dissenters. Rooted in Nonconformist dissatisfaction, a party grew up after 1843 which rejected all government intervention in education, a party which came to be called the "Voluntaryists."³⁴ Composed mainly of the Congregationalists, Baptists, and for a time the Wesleyan Methodists, the organization of such a group showed clearly that no government could recognize any one denomination at the expense of the others if education was to be provided from government funds. A second result of Graham's Bill was the great increase in effort on the part of all the major religious groups which resulted in thousands of new schools being established throughout the country.³⁵

However admirable voluntary attempts to provide an answer may have been, by 1846 many people were willing to concede that the magnitude of the problem was such that private benevolence was incapable of providing a solution and that further action on the part of the government was imperative. As a result, when the Whigs were returned to power under the leadership of Lord John Russell, consideration was once again given to providing schools for the children of the poor. Warned by the failure of the Tories to legislate in this area, Russell adopted the method of reform through Minutes issued by the Committee of Council on Education. The first, which was presented to the Commons on August 25 1846 was designed to improve the quality of instruction in existing schools aided by the grants. With this purpose in mind, increased

subsidies were offered to approved schools which would accept apprentice-teachers who were, in turn, paid by the state. Those who successfully completed their apprenticeship were eligible to receive scholarships for further training, while the salaries of teachers who agreed to supervise the apprentices were augmented. Bonuses and pensions were offered for long and successful service. Three additional inspectors were appointed to supervise the new programme. Grants were raised from a total of £75,000 to £100,000 and all institutions were encouraged, but not compelled, to adopt a "conscience clause."³⁶ In the opinion of G. M. Young, the Education Minute of 1846, the Factory Act, and the Public Health Acts together marked the emergence of a new philosophy of the relation of the state to its subjects.³⁷

To many people, state interference in education could be justified on the grounds that the ignorance of the working classes threatened the peace, order, and prosperity of the country. The rejection by the Voluntarists of any form of government aid made agreement on a system of national elementary education virtually impossible. But the problem was complicated further after 1846 by the division of those who accepted the principle of state intervention into three groups: the government party, the secularists and the denominationalists. All three agreed that secular education was essential if children were to become useful members of society, and that religious training was equally important for proper moral development. All contended that voluntary efforts had failed to solve the problem, and that the ignorance of the working classes of England in comparison with those of Europe was evidence of this failure. All three parties attributed the increase of crime, vagrancy, and immorality to the lack of education. They were divided,

however, on the question of how religious and state subsidized education of the children of the poor could be implemented without infringing on religious and civil liberties.

Each party proposed a different plan in an attempt to answer this question. The government, Whig or Tory, continued the policy of aid from funds raised by general taxation and granted to all schools which accepted inspection, hired certified teachers, and matched each pound received with two raised by voluntary subscription. Religious instruction was mandatory, but school managers were encouraged to incorporate a conscience clause in their trust deeds.

The secularists, whose policy was expressed first by the Lancaster Public School Association and later by the National Public School Association, believed that the religious question precluded any agreement being reached among the various sects. Led chiefly by Radicals but claiming adherents from all political parties and all religious groups, they advocated that all schools should be taken over by the state and administered by elected county boards responsible for supplying free education to all children from a county rate. Unlike Roebuck, they did not claim that education should be compulsory. Although they changed their position a number of times on their interpretation of religious teaching in the schools, many people regarded their policy as a direct threat to the established system of combined education.

The denominationalist party represented by the Manchester and Salford Education Committee also endorsed free education paid from a local rate which would be apportioned to the elementary day schools according to the enrollment. Religious liberty was to be guaranteed by a conscience clause, and by allowing parents to choose the school

their child should attend. Local school committees, working with the Committee of Council, would supervise education and build schools where none existed. Reading from the Authorized Version of the Bible would form the basis of religious instruction in those schools built from local funds.³⁸

The two organizations, the Lancaster Public School Association, later to become the National Public School Association, and the Manchester and Salford Education Committee originated and maintained their headquarters in Manchester. For twenty years that city was the focus of the educational debate.

That the leading citizens were to show such a lively interest in education was the result of the conjunction of economic, social, political, and religious forces in Manchester throughout the 1840's. To the already rapidly increasing population which accompanied continued industrial expansion were added the Irish immigrations.³⁹ In addition, the success of the Anti-Corn Law League freed Richard Cobden and other Manchester Radicals to turn their attention once again to the problem of education. Cobden had been responsible for the organization of the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education in 1837, a society which gave great promise until its members devoted themselves to the more urgent issue of free trade.⁴⁰ Since the object of the group was to encourage the government "to undertake the provision of the mental improvement and moral training for the whole population," the Established Church could regard this only as a challenge to its position of supervisor of all education.⁴¹ This challenge was of particular significance in Manchester where Dissenters far outnumbered those who belonged to the Established Church.⁴² Realizing that the threat to the

denominational schools would be renewed should voluntary effort fail, the clergy and members of the Anglican faith formed the Manchester Church Education Society late in 1843 in an attempt to provide education for the children of the poor on one hand and to check the demands of Dissenters and Radicals on the other.⁴³

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINS OF THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL

The origins of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill may be traced to the failure of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill of 1843. This failure marked the apparent triumph of the supporters of the voluntary principle in providing elementary education for the children of the poorer classes in England and Wales. For the next four years all religious denominations, Anglican and Dissenting, exerted every effort to prove that they could supply and maintain any required educational facilities without further interference or additional aid from the state.¹

In Manchester, members of the Church of England in particular exhibited this renewed interest. In 1843 the Dean of Manchester, the Honourable Dr. William Herbert, organized the Manchester Church Education Society and served as its first chairman. The Society had six objects, each designed to improve education offered by the Church schools:

1. To employ a competent resident inspector or inspectors to be approved by the bishop, for all the schools in the parish that will submit to his visits.
2. To assist in providing, organising, and, if necessary, supporting the schools in the parish . . . for 300 boys, girls, and infants, out of every 3,000 population.
3. To assist . . . in defraying the expense of training well-qualified teachers . . . either at a training school or by its own inspectors.
4. To put the two national schools upon an effectual and satisfactory footing by alterations and improvements.
5. To [award] some yearly prizes . . . to the teachers of the best constituted schools.

6. To stimulate, but not supersede, local exertions by giving assistance, when thoroughly satisfied that the result cannot be attained without its help.²

These aims formed the outline of an educational system confined to a relatively limited area, financed by local contributions, and supervised by inspectors responsible to a local society. It was hoped that by these means that some schooling could be offered to one-tenth of the population. Should this prove possible, then the example of members of the Established Church in Manchester would supply proof that education could be provided on the basis of the voluntary principle.

For a time the interest and enthusiasm shown by clergy and laymen alike gave promise that these hopes were not without foundation. The committee was made up of men who had shown keen interest in the educational question of the day. Two in particular, the Reverend Charles Richson³ and the Reverend Hugh Stowell,⁴ were well known for their work in this field.⁵ That proposals were made not only for schools for the children of the poor but for those of the middle classes as well is one indication of the spirit of optimism that pervaded the Church Education Society. It proved possible to raise £550 in annual subscriptions from business firms and other individuals, and out of these funds Commercial Schools were built in the Stretford New Road.⁶ In the annual report read at the meeting of the Society in 1846, it was noted with satisfaction that the two schools connected with the National Society had been remodelled and set up as *model schools*, that £627 had been voted in the previous three years specifically for the support of schools in poor districts, that forty-two schools were receiving financial aid from the Society, and that nine new schools had been built. In addition, arrangements had been made to buy supplies in

large quantities for the schools, and a considerable saving was effected by this method. An association for the improvement of teachers had been organized, and arrangements made with the national schools of the district to train pupil teachers.⁷ An inspector had been hired who devoted all his time to visiting the Church schools, to the supervision of pupil teachers, and to aiding the Improvement Association for teachers. The Commercial Schools were established and had become self-supporting, and plans to open new schools for the children of artisans, mechanics, and small shopkeepers were progressing.⁸ Members of the Manchester Church Education Society seemed justified in their belief that voluntary effort would be able to provide sufficient educational facilities for the children of their city at least.

Any optimism that may have been experienced in Manchester was not shared by Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds. On June 1, 1846 he published a letter, *On the Means of Rendering More Efficient the Education of the People*, addressed in pamphlet form to the Bishop of St. David's.⁹ Dr. Hook contended that

Upon the present system of educating through the instrumentality of voluntary associations, assisted by the state, there is no probability of our obtaining a sufficient number of primary schools, or that systematic training for the great mass of people which is an essential part of education. . . . The experiment has been made and it has failed, I mean failed so far as to convince practical men that further measures are absolutely necessary, and that the state must effect what voluntary associations will never accomplish.¹⁰

He alleged that next to nothing had been done, and that the existing means of education available to the poor served only as an illustration of its inadequacy. He pointed out that clergymen were reduced to the role of beggars in their attempts to raise money for their schools in the poor districts, that schoolmasters were poorly trained and poorly

paid, that the monitorial system was obsolete, and that books and apparatus were inadequate. He calculated that 2,000,000 children of England and Wales should be attending school, and that the total cost would amount to £2,541,571. Since the most that could be raised by voluntary subscription and school fees was £1,400,000, the balance must be made up by some form of financial aid from the government, either "endowments, Parliamentary grants, or local taxation."¹¹ State aid, however, immediately raised the problem of religious instruction in the schools. Since Dr. Hook believed it was impossible to devise a type of instruction that would be acceptable to Churchmen and Dissenters alike, he suggested that religious and secular education should be separated. Secular instruction only would be given in the schools supported by the state, while the clergy would be responsible for giving religious instruction. These classes would be taught on Wednesday and Friday at a specified time and held in classrooms specially set aside for this purpose.¹²

He proposed further that each county should be divided into school districts, and that a Board of Management for the schools should be appointed by the county magistrates, who would be responsible for levying a county rate to provide the required money.¹³

Dr. Hook's letter had two results of far-reaching significance. First, he had advertised the failure of the voluntary principle and given comfort to those who argued for the necessity of interference on the part of the state. His fellow Churchmen felt his criticism the more keenly as he had not only deserted their cause but had lent the weight of his prestige and popularity to their opponents. Dissenters who disapproved of the extension of state control viewed his suggestions

with equal consternation.¹⁴ To members of local organizations such as the Manchester Church Education Society, the implication followed from his statements that their efforts, which had seemed so successful, were nothing more than a palliative for the problem. Secondly, his letter gave a new impetus to the search for a different solution. Because of the mass of criticism which followed from both Churchmen and Dissenters, his pamphlet was widely read and discussed. That some part of his plan later became a model for both the Secularists of the National Public School Association and for the Denominationalists of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee gives evidence of the soundness of his suggestions.

Although many who replied to Dr. Hook disagreed with the extreme position he had adopted, others were willing to concede that some financial aid from public funds in addition to the treasury grants was necessary. Canon Clifton believed that a fund should be raised by a county rate, and that a fee of 8s per student should be paid to every day school giving general instruction. He also recommended annual government inspection of the schools and the hiring of masters who held certificates from government inspectors. The Reverend W. Harkness suggested that a school rate should be levied on the assessed value of all houses while the owners would be granted the choice of paying their taxes to whichever school they wished to support. The Reverend J. Dufton, in his reply to Dr. Hook's letter, believed that a rate should be levied on basis of the present poor law assessment, and that schools so supported should offer free education to the children of those who did not qualify for the vote based on the ten pound franchise.¹⁵ Not only did the opinions of such men add weight to Dr. Hook's criticisms, but they also

furnished suggestions that were to be incorporated into later educational plans.

Lord John Russell's government, in the meantime, continued with its policy of lending support to the schools operating on the voluntary principle. The Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, approved by Parliament in 1846 and made effective at the beginning of 1847, increased the grant to schools which would agree to raise their teachers' salaries and replace the monitorial system--a system which Dr. Hook criticized as making "a portion of the children vain, conceited, and puffed up" and as leaving "a larger portion in ignorance,"¹⁶--with that of pupil teachers. To become eligible to receive this increased grant the managers of a school must raise an equal amount by voluntary subscriptions. Under normal economic conditions this would not have proven an insurmountable difficulty, but the country was caught up in the economic depression of 1847.

The Committee of the Manchester Education Society found itself in genuine financial difficulty, and its urgent appeals for aid met with little response from the people of the city. Because of poor business conditions, many former contributors cancelled their pledges; and the clergy in the poorer districts found it impossible to keep some of the schools in operation.¹⁷ To add to the Society's problems Dean Herbert died, and with his death went much of the enthusiasm that had marked the three successful years from 1843 to 1846. It was realized by all members that their plans were far too ambitious for their resources, and they were compelled to reduce their commitments, a decision which had disastrous effects on the schools for the poor which had looked to them for support.¹⁸

The economic depression and the death of Dean Herbert were serious blows in 1847, but the growing support the secularists were gaining in Manchester presented a new threat. Like Dr. Hook, they challenged the leading tenet of the Manchester Church Education Society and other voluntaryists that education and religion were inseparable. The secularists maintained that agreement among the different denominations over religious teaching in the schools was impossible.¹⁹ Consequently, a national system of free, secular education supported entirely by public expense offered the only hope of providing education for the poor children. The organization of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee in December, 1850 was a belated answer on the part of the denominationalists and voluntaryists to the secularists who had organized not only the Lancaster Public School Association, but also its successor, the National Public School Association, during the period of time from 1847 until the fall of 1850.

The Lancaster Public School Association originated at a meeting attended by Jacob Bright,²⁰ Samuel Lucas,²¹ W. B. Hodgson,²³ Thomas Ballantyne,²⁴ and the Reverend William McKerrow²⁵ in the vestry of Lloyd Street Chapel²⁶ in July, 1847. At this meeting Lucas acted as chairman and presented the outline of a plan of local education that was to form the basic policy of this organization.²⁷ On August 25 a second meeting was held in the Mechanics Institute, Cooper Street, where the 'Lancaster Public School Association' for 'promoting the establishment of a general system of secular education in the County of Lancaster' was organized.²⁸ A provisional committee was nominated, 10,000 pamphlets were prepared to advertise the Association, plans were made to prepare a bill to be presented to the House of Commons and to obtain signatures for petitions

in support of this bill. In short, all the techniques that had been used with such success by the Anti-Corn Law League were to be brought into play in support of secular education.

The Lancaster Public School Association argued that every child ought to receive a good elementary education but under the present system this was impossible. In the first place, all schools were connected with some religious denomination, and if a parent objected to the religious instruction his child was excluded from all instruction. Secondly, the government grants were paid in proportion to the voluntary contributions a school received, a practice which resulted in those in poor districts receiving little or no aid. In the central government's assuming the duty of educating all children the Association saw the danger of the "peoples' minds being pressed down into bondage rather than elevated to freedom."²⁹ To try to overcome these difficulties standing in the way of education, a new principle was proposed. The Association recommended that the County of Lancaster should form one educational region. This region would be subdivided into hundreds, parishes, and townships. The ratepayers would elect a School Committee which was to be granted the power to levy a local tax to supply and maintain the required schools. So that no child should be denied an education because of poverty, no fees were to be charged. Religious instruction was limited to the reading of selections from the Scriptures. To unify and supervise the schools, a County Board of Education was to be elected by the various School Committees.³⁰

Not the least of the obstacles to be overcome in the establishment of the system of education proposed by the Lancaster Public School Association was the lack of effective municipal organization in England

and Wales. Here there was no counterpart for the commune and the local government which provided the administrative basis of the public elementary schools in France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland.³¹ The members of the Association recognized the difficulty, and attempted to overcome it by establishing new administrative units based on the ancient divisions of parish or township, hundred, and county.³² Since the special rate was to be levied and the expenditure controlled by the elected representatives of the ratepayers, it was hoped that much opposition to the new tax could be avoided. Improving the quality of instruction offered and thus encouraging parents to send their children to the new schools would perhaps help to silence the objections that they were free.

Opponents of the Secularists, however, wasted no time in condemning them on the grounds that they were attacking the property rights of both private individuals and of the churches. But the greatest criticism centred around the proposal to replace religious instruction with the reading of selections from the Scriptures; the plan was denounced as 'godless' and 'an abomination.'³³

This expected criticism probably acted as a stimulus. Certainly the fall of 1847 and the spring of 1848 were periods of great activity by the Lancaster Public School Association. Through the distribution of pamphlets and of notices in the newspapers, it publicized its plan of education throughout England and Wales, and even into Scotland where one of its articles appeared in the *Aberdeen Herald*. It sought as wide a representation as possible by electing men from all parts of the County of Lancaster, and from all denominations and political parties as members of the committee. However, those who served on the Executive Committee were responsible for arousing and maintaining enthusiasm for

for the cause. On September 22, 1847 the decision was made to hold daily meetings at 10 a.m. except on Mondays when the time was changed to 6:30 p.m. On September 30th, the Committee met with Mr. Hale of Leeds who was encouraged to organize an association to promote the plan in Yorkshire. Richard Cobden's letter of October 17th expressing his approval and support of the Secularists' aims lent the prestige of his name to the party. By December, the form of a petition to Parliament had been agreed upon.³⁴ In January 1848, the Lancaster Public School Association was formally established with Alexander Henry, M.P., as its president.³⁵

This date marks an important milestone in the history of the development of a national system of education for the children of the poor in England and Wales. Whether or not state interference was acceptable; either in the form of money grants, or supervision by inspectors, or both, had constituted the central principle of the controversy debated from 1839 until 1848.³⁶ The "true" Voluntaryists, particularly the majority of the Congregationalists and the Baptists, were to continue to reject other than contributions by private citizens for the support of their schools. Among the Anglicans only the High Church party, whose chief spokesman was Archdeacon G. A. Denison, still opposed government intervention; but this opposition was directed principally to the Management Clauses first suggested in 1846 by the Committee of Council.³⁷ Since the majority of the public day schools were affiliated with the National Society, the British and Foreign School Society, or the Wesleyan Methodists³⁸ who accepted the grants and the concomitant conditions the principle of state interference ceased to be the main issue. Attention was now centred on the

revolutionary plan of the Lancaster Public School Association, a plan which proposed the replacement of the denominational schools by new ones financed from the rates and managed by representatives of the ratepayers. Consequently, the question no longer was one of state intervention but of state control.

The threat to the denominational schools was to have far-reaching effects in Manchester. It gave rise to the moderate Denominationalist party whose members were first drawn from the Manchester Church Education Society but were later to include many Dissenters as well. That rate-aid and secular education were not necessarily inseparable was the policy this party was finally to adopt, but this position was accepted only after every other means of support for the schools had failed. For the next two years efforts were turned to contesting the radical scheme of the Secularists, and to the investigation and encouragement of a variety of expedients which promised to aid in providing education for the children of the poor.

Richson, Secretary of the Manchester Church Education Society, took the lead in the opposition to the Lancaster Public School Association. In January, 1848, the same month that the latter was formally organized, he published "Suggestions for Rendering National Education Independent of the Voluntary System, without Prejudices to Existing Institutions or to the Established Agencies for Promoting Education" in the *Manchester Courier*.³⁹ Like the L.P.S.A. he accepted the fact that the voluntary system had failed, and that some form of rate-aid was essential if schools were to be provided and maintained for the poor. The schools were to be free. The county would be the basic administrative unit with Commissioners of Education to have charge of certain

districts, unions or parishes.

Despite these significant elements of agreement the two plans differed widely. According to Richson's plan, the Commissioners, granted extensive duties and responsibilities, were not to be elected by the ratepayers but appointed by the district Justices of the Peace. The money required to finance the schools was to be raised by a county rate, fixed by the magistrates in quarter sessions, and levied on the same assessment as the poor rate. The two amounts would be collected at the same time. The school rate, to be set by the Justice of the Peace on the advice of the Commissioners of Education, depended upon the number of poor children who required assistance in paying their school fees. It was the responsibility of the Commissioners to pay the teachers, to determine the number of pupils, to allocate them to the various schools, and to pay the management of these schools "*two shillings per quarter for every girl and infant, and two shillings and sixpence per quarter for every boy admitted to their school.*"⁴⁰ Should accommodation prove inadequate or non-existent in a district, the Commissioners would be required to notify the Committee of Council on Education who would encourage one of the recognized societies--the National Society, the British and Foreign School Society, the Wesleyan Association, the Congregational Union, or some other--to construct the required rooms or building. Half of the expense of the project would be assumed by the society which accepted the responsibility. The other half would come from government grants or the county rate, depending on the agreement between the Committee of Council and the Commissioners of Education. If no society found it possible to engage in this venture, then the latter two groups would be free "to adopt such other course, either temporarily

or otherwise, as the emergency of the case may render necessary."⁴¹

Every established school which was at present open to government inspection, which hired certified teachers, and which was eligible for government grant would be admitted into the membership of the new union; and could expect supplementary help from the Commissioners who would pay the fees for the children of the poor. There was to be no interference in the management and operation of any of the schools. Instruction, whether secular or religious, would continue on the same pattern as before the plan came into effect. To overcome the problem of disagreement over religion, parents would be allowed to choose the school they wished their children to attend, depending on the religious denomination to which they belonged.⁴² Richson addressed this alternate plan to those who were particularly concerned with the condition of the poorer classes in the mining and manufacturing districts. He pointed out that unless the existing schools were immediately remodelled and made more efficient, the government would be compelled to establish a national system of education based on some comprehensive scheme.

Richson's scheme aroused nearly as many objections as had the plans of the Secularists. Some alleged that funds should be raised by increased government grants rather than by a local rate; others asserted that the plan was not applicable to rural parishes. Because of the widespread disapproval Richson dropped his scheme for the time being, but it was not without importance. His publication brought to the attention of the people of Manchester that a compromise solution to the radical programme of the Secularists was not impossible; and that a system of free education for the poor, supported or supplemented by a local rate, might be devised without the destruction of the existing

schools and religious training. That Canon Wray and J. C. Harter, both well known supporters of the voluntary system, came to agree with Richson's proposal was an indication that, with some modifications, it might gain the cooperation of others of their party.⁴³

A further encouragement was the assumption of office on January 23, 1848 by the first bishop of the recently created diocese of Manchester, the Right Reverend James Prince Lee, and of George Hull Bower who succeeded Dean Herbert. Both were known for their interest in education, and the Bishop especially for his liberal views.⁴⁴ Not only the Manchester Church Education Society looked to him for leadership, but the Lancaster Public School Association also believed that he might endorse its cause.⁴⁵ So confident were the members of this that on June 19, 1848 they went so far as to request that he present a petition on their behalf in the House of Lords. He agreed with them that local rates and local management were needed to improve the education of the poor and "that he would gladly take charge of the petition, which he would bring under the notice of the government, and support it so far as he could consistently with his own deliberate convictions,"⁴⁶ but that he could not accept a secular basis for education. He contended that religious teaching formed an integral part of education although he was willing to grant that special concessions should be accorded children of Dissenters who attended Church schools. So ended any hope that the Lancaster Public School Association had entertained.

The Bishop and the Dean were to prove influential allies of the Manchester Church Education Society, but subsequent events gave the members little reason to think that their financial difficulties would take a turn for the better. On June 21, 1848, Dean Bower initiated a

'Gratitude Fund' designed to commemorate 'the comparative tranquility that had prevailed in Manchester during the recent period of very great general agitation.'⁴⁷ Contributions were to be used to assist the Church schools in the poorer districts but subscriptions proved to be far less than had been anticipated. With regret, it had to be admitted that the project was a failure.

Meanwhile, the successful meetings which the Lancaster Public School Association were holding every two weeks at the Mechanics Institute, and the known fact that statistical evidence was being compiled to prove the inadequacy of the voluntary system caused the members of the Manchester Church Education Society to redouble their efforts. This time they decided that if parents could be made to recognize the value of educating their children, more of them would be sent to school. The increased enrolment and the resulting increase in fees would provide the solution to financing the schools. To bring this state of affairs about, the Society planned to institute a kind of compulsory education through the owners of the mills and factories in the district. If employers could be persuaded to adopt a policy of showing a preference for children who had some education, then the latter would be compelled to attend school if they wished to work.

Once again Richson took the lead. He made a survey of factory owners who employed thousands of school-age workers. By his own account, he interviewed 132 employers in mills and other works and attempted to persuade them to accept this policy and to post the following notice:

In the appointment of children and young persons to situations in this Establishment,

Those young persons are to be preferred who can READ and WRITE.⁴⁸

Some, he found, already followed this policy, while 130 agreed to implement it "as far as practicable." But to the disappointment of Richson and other members of the Society, the results were again not as encouraging as they had expected. Many owners felt that such a rule demanding that employment be made contingent upon a literacy test could be enforced only if education were free. Children applying for work could not be turned away because their parents were too poor to send them to school. Furthermore, scarcity of labour during busy periods made employers reluctant to implement such a rule.⁴⁹

Although this experiment, like the proposal for rate-aid and the attempt to raise money by means of the 'Gratitude Fund,' failed, members of the Manchester Church Educational Society who were attempting to save the voluntary schools learned two valuable lessons. First, mill owners preferred better educated employees, but to demand such a standard, education must be free. Secondly, Richson accepted this fact as additional evidence that, under existing conditions of employment, the schools could not look to increased attendance--and increased fees--as the answer to their financial difficulties. Those who advocated the voluntary principle must either look elsewhere for assistance or admit failure.⁵⁰

One other solution presented itself. The parish provided money from the poor rates for the education of children where parents lived in the workhouse, but no such help was extended to those whose parents were receiving out-door relief. In this large group, the Manchester Church Education Society saw a possible answer to the problem. If the fees for these children could also be charged to the poor rate, then a great burden of expense would be lifted from the voluntary schools.

Not only would the parish assume the payment of fees for those pupils who now attended as charity cases, but many more would be encouraged to come to school. To make such payments possible, the Society devoted its time for the remainder of 1848 to an attempt to bring about an amendment to the Poor Law Act.⁵¹ Richson, who was also the initiator of this plan, enlisted the help of A. Austen, Poor Law Inspector for Manchester. The Bishop of Manchester, Dean Bowers, James Kay-Shuttleworth, Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education; William Page Wood, Member of Parliament for Oxford; and 'many other gentlemen' offered their support. Together they drew up a clause which Wood agreed to propose as an addition to the Poor Law Union Charges Amendment Bill which was then before Parliament.⁵²

Although those opposed to secular education had been very busy, their work appeared almost inconsequential when compared with the highly organized activities of the Lancaster Public School Association. Its annual meeting was held on January 17, 1849 where W. E. Forster⁵³ read a letter from the Bishop of Manchester, who expressed his regret for his absence.⁵⁴ On March 24, 1849 the Association advertised in the Manchester papers that the town mayor, J. Potter had been requested to call a meeting of the inhabitants of the city 'to consider the propriety of petitioning parliament in favour of the establishment of a general system of secular education in this county, to be supported by local rates, and managed by local authorities selected by the ratepayers for this purpose'.⁵⁵ The request, signed by 188 prominent citizens, had been granted and the meeting to consider the petition was to be held on Thursday, March 29 at 11 a.m. in the town hall. This step took the Manchester Church Education Society by surprise, but the annual

meeting, already scheduled for Monday, March 26, gave it some opportunity to muster its forces in opposition to the Secularists. Some of the opinions expressed at this gathering are of particular importance as they show the depth of the feelings against the idea of a school system based on any other than religious teaching. Canon Sergeant declared that

As a Christian man and a Christian teacher he felt it their bounden duty to train up their children in the way they should go; and that while they [the Church] afforded secular education, to give them that far better knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ [was more important]. They dared not, and they would not, under God's blessing, leave their own children to chance and to accident as to their religious faith.⁵⁶

R. Brandt, H. Houldsworth, Dr. Warren, and the Dean of Manchester all heartily concurred with these remarks. The Bishop of Manchester added to the Canon's opinion in a long and impassioned address outlining what he believed to be the aims of education:

To form the mind, to mould the character, to train the habits, to regulate and elevate the feelings and conducts, to improve the morals, to give aims and exhibit motives for aspirations after immorality--that cannot be done without religion, and that alone is education. I am told, . . . and I fear the information is true [that] the people of Manchester will be asked if they approve of a system of secular education apart from religious education. My answer is, no!--No, by the Bible, on which we found our hopes.--No, by the Church, of which we hope and pray we are sincerely attached members.--No, by the spirits of those martyrs, who reformed and purified and established the Church.--No, by the Spirit of God, who for so many years has strengthened and endowed that Church with so many precious gifts.--We have seen sufficiently deplorable results arising from the imparting of mere secular instruction without religion. . . . No mistake so fatal, no act so suicidal, could ever be committed, as the adoption of a system of education such as that. . . .⁵⁷

Stowell urged all those who were present to attend the meeting on the coming Thursday to oppose any plan that would pledge the city of Manchester in favour of a programme of secular education.⁵⁸

The meeting, held by the Lancaster Public School Association,

was attended by men holding every variety of opinion on education. As soon as it began, a resolution proposing that the petition endorsing a system of secular education be presented to the House of Commons was moved by Thomas Bazley and seconded by Absalom Watkin.⁵⁹ Canon Stowell immediately proposed an amendment to the petition, requesting that Parliament 'not sanction any system of general education of which the Christian religion is not the basis'.⁶⁰ George Osborn, superintendent of one of the Wesleyan circuits in Manchester, seconded the amendment. However, as a representative of the Voluntaryists, he went much farther in a later speech than had Canon Stowell for he maintained that government aid in any form was unnecessary. He held that "he could give as good education in the school connected with his congregation for two-pence or fourpence a week as could be given in any school supported by local rates."⁶¹ William McKerrow stated the Secularist position. He contended that as a Dissenter he could not accept public funds for the teaching of his particular religious opinions. Since every man is his own judge of what constitutes Christianity and agreement was impossible, no particular religious doctrine should be taught in schools supported by public funds. In place of religious doctrine should be substituted the principles of "truthfulness, honesty, sobriety, and brotherly kindness," principles upon which everyone could agree and upon which society was based.⁶² He denied that Christianity would die out in the land if it were not taught in the schools; those who made such a claim misjudged its zeal and energy. Nor did parents send their children to school to gain religious knowledge, but to learn to read and write. Contrary to the charges of some people, secular education alone would not degrade and demoralize a man, but make him a better member of

society. "Education," asserted McKerrow, "opens up new sources of enjoyment--moral and intellectual; and prepares men for the reception of religious truth."⁶³

After six hours of debate, a vote was taken on Stowell's amendment. Opinion was so evenly divided that it was only with great difficulty that the Mayor finally was able to decide in favour of the latter and the meeting was adjourned. J. Wilson Patten, member for North Lancashire, presented the Petition to the House of Commons on April 24, 1849.⁶⁴

This meeting was of great significance in the development of educational thought in Manchester. The strength of opinion in favour of the Secularists was made evident by the small margin won by supporters of the existing system of schools. Encouraged by the fact that their defeat had been by such a small majority, they continued to hold meetings. According to the Committee Report, the publicity which they had gained resulted in "many influential members of the Wesleyan body as well as members of the Established Church joining their cause."⁶⁵ Supporters of the exclusively voluntary system took alarm, and tried to encourage more active opposition to the Secularists. They, too, held meetings in Manchester where lectures were given by the Reverend Algernon Wells, the Reverend J. Burnet, and other Independent ministers. Edward Baines, Jr., editor of the *Leeds Mercury* and one of the most ardent advocates of the voluntary system, also attended. The Wesleyans appointed a committee to investigate methods of raising money and of increasing the number of their schools in an attempt to offset the charges of the Association that voluntaryism had failed to meet the needs of the poor.⁶⁶

That some of the members of the Established Church were gradually

coming to accept rate-aid for the schools was illustrated by a lecture given by Stowell in the Free Trade Hall on May 17, 1849. He agreed with the Lancaster Public School Association that voluntary effort was incapable of meeting the demands for education, that there were many people living in deplorable ignorance, and that every person in England had a right to be educated. He favoured a local rather than national administration; and although he did not openly support the need for a local rate, neither did he speak against it. But he refused to concede, like the Secularists, that secular and religious education should be separated. He argued that since two-thirds of the population were members of the Church of England, and the remaining one-third belonged to one of the Dissenting sects, a national system of education would work a hardship on the majority.⁶⁷ Moreover, he objected to the exclusion of the Bible from the schools, and a substitution of the reading of specific selections. He held that it was impossible to leave out theological dogmas and still retain religion. In spite of legislation to the contrary, honest and sincere schoolmasters could not be prevented from inculcating their students with religious principles which were contrary to what their parents wished them to be taught. Should the Association succeed in their aims, the government could no longer consistently pay grants to the voluntary schools. Either state support must provide for schools "where the word of God formed the basis and element of education, or schools from whence the word of God was systematically excluded."⁶⁸ There was no possible compromise. The only suggestion that Stowell offered was that all Dissenters should return to the Church of England, and the religious problem would be solved.⁶⁹

Shortly before Stowell's lecture the members of the Manchester

Church Education Society, in response to the challenge of the Secularists, drew up a petition of its own to be presented to both Houses of Parliament. Once again, request was made that the school fees of children whose parents received out-door relief should be paid from the poor rates. The attention of the government was drawn to the fact that if "education based upon revealed religion" was to make progress, then assistance in the form of increased grants was urgently required. Opposition was also registered to any attempt which might be made to substitute local taxation for the grants from the Committee of Council on Education, grants which at the time supplemented charitable donations and pupils' fees.⁷⁰ The petition, signed by "10,000 male persons above the age of 16 years," was subsequently presented to the House of Lords by the Bishop of Manchester and to the House of Commons by W. Page Wood.⁷¹

Although this action by the Manchester Church Education Society appeared to be a backward step to members who accepted the weaknesses of the voluntary system, this was not, in fact, the case. From recognizing that education for pauper children might be provided from the rates, it was only a short step to applying the same principle to all poor children. Furthermore, in gathering evidence for the petition some reasonably reliable statistics were compiled regarding school attendance. It was found that there were 6,035 families with 11,135 children between the ages of three and fifteen in the seven districts of All Souls', the Cathedral, Every Street, St. Thomas's, Red Bank; St. Mark's, Hulme; St. James's, London Road; St. Michael's and Harpurhey. The following table was drawn up to show the occupations of the various children:

Children attending some day school	4,779	
Children at home, but attending day school as others, at convenient periods	<u>3,619</u>	8,398
Children at work	1,449	
Children not attending any day school	<u>1,288</u>	<u>2,737</u>
		<u>11,135</u>

From these figures the Manchester Education Society drew the following conclusions:

1. The number of children receiving education may not be calculated from the average number of children in daily attendance. Although only 4,779 were at school on a specific day, 8,398 attended school at some time, and consequently more children were being educated than the Secularists claimed was the case.
2. Many of the 1,449 children at work were attending some Sunday school.
3. A large portion of the 1,288 children were kept at home were too poor to pay the fees, and not because of the religious education given in the Church Schools.⁷²

As encouraging as these statistics may have been to the Manchester Church Education Society, any hopes that it had for the success of the petition were soon lost. W. Page Wood's attempt to gain the consent of the House of Commons to add a clause to the Union Charges Amendment Bill making the payment of out-door pauper children's school fees chargeable to the poor rate failed. No longer could the members of the Society expect any help from this source.⁷³

Subsequent events showed that the Lancaster Public School Association considered the actions of the voluntaryists of little significance. On December 12, 1849 the Secularists held a conference in the Free Trade Hall of Manchester. The purpose of this assembly was not to pursue their plan of an education system for the County of Lancaster but to consider extending the Association to form a national society. Two hundred representatives came from all parts of the country. Among those who attended were Thomas Milner-Gibson, Member of Parliament for

Manchester; W. J. Fox, Member of Parliament for Oldham; and W. E. Forster who was beginning to make a name for himself in education. Other speakers were Mr. Simpson from Edinburgh who had worked with Richard Cobden and Thomas Wyse in the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education,⁷⁴ Thomas Bazley, J. Stores-Smith, and Dr. John Watts.⁷⁵ Watts and William McKerrow were to later become the recognized leaders of the Secularist party in Manchester. Richard Cobden, William Ewart, and Thomas Carlyle were unable to attend the conference but each sent a letter expressing approval of the proposed national society.⁷⁶ By the end of 1849, the forces arrayed against those who defended the voluntary schools and the principle of combined secular and religious education appeared formidable indeed.

CHAPTER III

THE THREAT OF THE LANCASTER PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

A repetition of the success of the past year was anticipated by the Secularists in 1850. In the forthcoming session of Parliament W. J. Fox proposed to introduce a bill which, if successful, would establish a national system of schools based on secularist principles. Members of the Lancaster Public School Association hoped to extend the activities of their society to all England and Wales. Their opponents viewed these developments with alarm, but they had no effective organization to challenge this active and aggressive group.

Little time was lost by the Association in furthering its educational plans. On January 1, 1850, five hundred citizens who were supporters of the Secularists addressed a request to the Mayor of Manchester for permission to hold a town meeting in the Free Trade Hall in April.¹ The purpose of this assembly, like that of March 29, 1849, was to seek support for a petition advocating the new scheme of education.²

Members of the Established Church, however, were not idle. As the time for the meeting drew near, Canon Stowell once again led the opposition. On March 19 he contended that the Secularists intended to pack the meeting with their supporters. In reply the Association distributed placards throughout Manchester on which were printed denials of the charge. Nevertheless there did appear to be some grounds for Stowell's suspicions. The minutes of the meeting of the Lancaster

Public School Association on March 27 record that the organizing committee urged "the gentlemen present [to] pledge themselves to use every exertion in their power to induce a numerous attendance of friends . . . at the Public Meeting at the Town Hall, not later than eight o'clock Monday morning, 1st. April 1850."³ The final form of the petition to be considered was also approved by this committee on March 28.⁴

The attendance on April 1 must have exceeded the Secularists' hopes. By 8:00 a.m. the Town Hall was filled, and a second meeting for more than two thousand people was held outside in King-Street; a turnout which Richson attributed to the fact that it was Easter Monday and a holiday.⁵ However, the attention that was accorded to the speakers showed that there were a great many who were sincerely interested in the issues involved. Canon Stowell once again moved an amendment which stated that any national educational system must be Christian in character and provide "moral and religious training" as well as "intellectual culture."⁶ This time the support of the crowd was obviously with McKerrow and Watts who spoke in opposition to the motion. When a vote was taken the amendment was defeated. The support which the Secularists could expect was clearly increasing. This fact was noted by *The Manchester Guardian* which discerned in the meeting "decisive" and "portentous" signs of an important movement which could do nothing but succeed if the Lancaster Public School Association continued its present course of action.⁷

The efforts of the Association, however, had not been confined to Manchester. On February 26 W. J. Fox, Member of Parliament for Oldham, introduced the Bill for the Promotion of Secular Education in

the Commons, the first attempt to legislate in the field of education since the failure of Sir James Graham's measure in 1843.

With the oratorical skill which had made him famous during the Anti-Corn Law agitation, Fox outlined the issues which were involved in providing education for the children of the poor, and the controversy which had evolved from these issues. He noted that the dispute resulted partly from the change in attitude which had taken place toward education. Not indifference, but excess zeal now made any settlement difficult.⁸ Like the majority of thoughtful people, he granted that education was a good, not only for the individual himself, but also for the community which could expect a decrease in crime and an improvement in morals if more children attended school. Consequently the question was no longer whether or not the people should be educated, but the means of providing education. Some argued that it was the duty of the state while others maintained that secular and religious education were inseparable, and hence the proper sphere of the churches. He agreed with the former position, but only to the extent that the people would be enabled to educate themselves. It was on this principle that he had constructed his Bill.

He drew the attention of the House to the fact that even though the grants from the Committee of Council on Education had done much to encourage education, they were inadequate and acted only as a palliative. They failed completely in areas where they were most needed, in the poorest districts where it was impossible to raise an amount by voluntary contributions to match that offered by the government. In addition, the societies sponsored by the various churches were all experiencing difficulty in supporting their schools. As an example, he noted that

the Congregationalists had declared a few years ago that government aid was unnecessary and that they [the Congregationalists] could raise £200,000 to show that they were able to provide education for their own children. In spite of their most diligent efforts they had managed to collect only £120,000, and most of this inadequate fund had been spent.⁹ The National Society was not faring any better in spite of the preferred position it had enjoyed in regard to the grants in the past eleven years.¹⁰ The Committee of Council's policy, however, had been successful in another way. The inspectors for the Council had, through their reports, made the people of England more aware of the inadequacies of the schools than ever before. As an alternate to the present system, Fox referred to the suggestions of the Lancaster Public School Association in Manchester; and he believed such a plan as theirs could be enlarged without too much difficulty to include all England and Wales. People should not fear the emphasis the Association placed on secular education as it would serve to make religious teaching more effective.

There were other reasons why his Bill for free secular schools was important. In large cities and other places the labouring classes were showing great interest in education, and to prove this interest he read an excerpt from the manifesto of the working men in London.¹¹ He drew the attention of the Commons to the fact that although England was far ahead of most countries in commerce and industry, in education she lagged far behind, to her discredit.¹² To correct this situation Fox proposed that financial aid from a rate levied on property be given to existing schools, and that new ones be built in areas where voluntary efforts had failed to provide those required. A survey of all schools; "National Schools, British and Foreign Schools, schools connected with

religious denominations, schools without any connections, public schools, and private schools which accepted inspection," was to be made by Her Majesty's inspectors and the Committee of Council. After the survey had been completed, each locality was required to elect an education committee which would have power to levy a rate on property. From the funds raised, fees for the children of the poor would be paid to existing schools; and new schools were to be built in areas where none were available. The Committee of Council would make sure that these duties were carried out. Any new schools financed from the rate were free to all pupils, and no particular religious doctrines were to be taught; but provision was to be made for religious instruction at a fixed time conducted by the clergy of the different churches. Parents could choose which particular class they wished their children to attend. Inspection and general supervision of the schools would remain in the hands of the Committee of Council, but Fox looked to the cooperation of the churches and the working people to make his plan a success. He believed that those who paid the rate would not find their money wasted as he anticipated a lower crime rate as a result of increased education.¹³

There were various reactions to Fox's Bill when he finished his proposal. Lord John Russell, on the part of the government, agreed that he should be allowed to introduce the Bill, but the Prime Minister expressed some doubt that the different societies responsible for education had failed so completely as the member from Oldham had implied.¹⁴ M. Milnes, Member of Parliament for Pontrefact; J. Hume, Member of Parliament for Montrose; and B. Osborne, Member of Parliament for Middlesex supported Fox. However, he met furious opposition from Sir Robert Inglis, member for the University of Oxford, who charged that

the Bill was based on the false principle that the purpose of education was to prepare man for his place in this world, and hence "failed to consider his eternal destiny, for which this world was only a fleeting preparation."¹⁵

When the Bill came up for second reading on April 17, 1850, opposition was again expressed by those who represented a wide variety of religious opinion. A. Stafford, a Dissenter, attacked the measure on two grounds: that it advocated removing religious teaching from the schools and that it placed increased power in the hands of the central government. The Earl of Arundel, a Roman Catholic, saw even more sinister forces at work. He quoted at length from various sources to prove that the secular educational system in Prussia was not as successful as many believed.¹⁶ He maintained that the Reformation marked the setting aside of the Church in favour of the Scriptures. Now a new period had arrived and through secular education the Scriptures were to follow in the way of the Church. In concluding his speech, he asserted that

. . . this bill was a mere skirmishing party which would be driven in without difficulty, but it was not the last attack. The two armies were drawing up their forces and the battle was now between religion and irreligion--the Church and infidelity--God and the devil--and the reward for which they must contend was heaven or hell.¹⁷

Lord Ashley, who expressed his views in more moderate terms, agreed with those who denied the secular basis for education, but he declared that the cost, which would amount to £3,200,000 a year, precluded the adoption of such a plan.¹⁸ Although Fox was ably supported by Milner-Gibson, Member of Parliament for Manchester; G. F. Muntz, Member of Parliament for Birmingham; and C. F. Anstey, Member of Parliament for

Youghal, the motion for second reading of the Bill was defeated by a large majority; 56 voting for it and 287 against it.¹⁹

Contrary to what might have been expected, the Lancashire Public School Association in Manchester declined to give its official support to the Bill even though Fox was one of the vice-presidents. Most of the members of the executive committee felt that his suggestions did not go far enough, and that too much power remained in the hands of the Committee of Council rather than in the proposed local education committees.²⁰ The Committee decided that any member of the Association who wished might give his support to the Bill, but after its failure the Secularists realized that individual effort was not enough. For any measure to gain success in Parliament, public opinion must be organized to bring pressure to bear on the legislators.²¹

The voluntaryists, in turn profited from Fox's unsuccessful attempt. In the first place it compelled them to accept the fact that the Secularist threat was growing to dangerous proportions. Secondly, the Bill effectively brought the failure of the existing system to the attention of the representatives of the people of England and Wales. Thirdly, it was instrumental in causing the voluntaryists who held more moderate views regarding the role of government in education to realize that if they would save their schools, some compromise with regard to rate-aid was imperative. They also learned that if they wished to defend their position, they must adopt some of the methods used to advantage by the Lancaster Public School Association.

Although these lessons were clear to many people, the members of the Manchester Church Education Society were unwilling to accept any further compromise of the voluntary principle until they felt that

every other solution to the problem of financing their schools had been explored. At its annual meeting held on March 7, the Society again directed its attention to an attempt to increase school attendance, and by this means to increase the amount of money raised from school fees. Bishop Prince Lee believed that more children would attend the Church schools if a "conscience clause" were adopted which would free those whose parents belonged to one of the Dissenting faiths from religious instruction and the rule regarding church attendance. After much discussion and opposition he and Dean Bower finally managed to persuade the members to pass the following resolution:

That in all Church of England Schools we feel it imperatively our duty to require that the distinctive teaching of the Church of England should be fully maintained with respect to all those who are in her communion; . . . but it should in no such schools be obligatory, that the children of parents not being in Church of England Communion, receive other direct religious instruction, than that involved in the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures.²²

This concession on the part of the Society would later prove to be of great importance to the Manchester and Salford Education Committee in that the adoption of such a clause would remove one of the chief obstacles to gaining the support of the Dissenters for a common plan of education.²³ But the Manchester Church Education Society was willing to take a further step. A second resolution provided for a memorial to be sent to the Committee of the National Society requesting that the terms of union be changed to allow managers of schools which received aid from this Society to incorporate such a "conscience clause" whenever conditions seemed to demand it.²⁴ In accordance with the decision a letter was sent, but the National Society's failure to reply signified that no progress could be expected in that direction.²⁵ Fashioned as the resolutions were at a time when Fox's Bill was the subject of widespread discussion and

when the Lancaster Public School Association was advertising the forthcoming town meeting of April 1, these concessions on the part of the Established Church in Manchester did not gain the attention they deserved.

Richson saw that the more enterprising and enthusiastic Secularists were gradually usurping the position which should have belonged by right to the voluntaryists as the only group which had, up to this time, provided *any* schools for the children of the poor in Manchester. Instead of building on the foundation and taking advantage of their position, they were wasting their energy and efforts in the defence of the religious principle in education, and had yielded by default their ascendancy to the Lancaster Public School Association. To the Association the true issue was not religion but providing schools for the steadily increasing population of the city. Richson concluded correctly that if the voluntaryists were to regain their position as educators of the people, they must be rallied around a plan which would offer a more acceptable alternative to the problem than that of the Secularists. He also believed that if such a plan could be embodied in a bill to be presented to Parliament, it would serve as a unifying force around which all but the most extreme voluntaryists could gather and at the same time direct attention away from the "secular versus religion" debate. With these aims in mind he again outlined a scheme for a system based on the existing schools but offering free education financed from the rates for the children of the poor. Several prominent men interested in education encouraged him and offered valuable suggestions for preparing such a bill. They also expressed the opinion that many people who had formerly supported the Secularists when they provided the only scheme which promised

to get the children into schools would come to support Richson's more moderate proposal. Any further work in this direction, however, was interrupted by Richson's interest in the meeting of April 1, in his work in aid of Page Wood's amendment for children of out-door paupers, and in his part in discussions arising out of Fox's Bill.²⁶

Meanwhile, encouraged by the endorsement given to the proposed petition to Parliament by the people of Manchester at the great meeting of April 1, the Lancaster Public School Association pressed forward with the organization of new local branches and the extension of the society on a national rather than a county basis. But it also devoted a good deal of time to bringing its religious policy more in line with the ideas of Dr. Hook and W. J. Fox. Evidence of this gradual change in policy is apparent in the meetings held at different times during the remainder of the year. In May the Association reaffirmed its original position in a published address to the people of England and Wales:

The religious sects must be left to make such exertions as their benevolence may suggest, and their resources support. But in excluding the direct agency of the religious bodies in our system, we are very far from intending to disown the importance of religion in education. A thorough education, we know, involves a careful religious training. Such a training is, however, the work of the parent. Would that the fostering influence of a Christian home could be had for every child.²⁷

Religious education with the exception of the reading of "a selection of examples and precepts" was to have no place in the schools.²⁸ This policy was modified at a meeting of the subcommittee on October 13. On the advice of Samuel Lucas, the former chairman of the Central Committee who was now living in London, the plan of reading the Scripture Extracts of the Irish National Schools was adopted, and at another meeting held on November 21 the members of this committee unanimously agreed that this book was to exclude the use of the Bible as a school book.²⁹

These efforts to make some concessions indicate that the Secularists were more concerned with the problem of religion than Richson realized. Further discussion of this question must have taken place, for on October 29 McKerrow announced that provision was to be made for closing the schools at a specified time to allow for religious instruction.³⁰ This was the suggestion offered by Dr. Hook in 1846 and by W. J. Fox in his Bill presented in Parliament in the spring, and is a considerable change from the Association's announcement in May. From the date of the last change in policy, it would seem that the members were anxious to arrive at a more generally acceptable position before the great conference.

True to expectations, the conference of October 30 once again drew widespread support and was watched with much interest by all those concerned with education. Many members of Parliament as well as delegates from associations that had been organized in all parts of the country attended. The main business of the conference was to discuss and carry out the decisions that the general committee had made at a meeting on September 3. These involved particularly the extension of the Association to a national society and the preparation of an education bill for Parliament. In accord with this plan, Absalom Walker of Liverpool proposed the following resolution:

That the Lancashire Public School Association be resolved into a society to be called the National Secular School Association for the establishment by law in England and Wales of a general system of secular instruction to be maintained by local rates and under the management of local authorities specially selected by the ratepayers.³¹

The discussion which followed did not centre around the question of the extension of the local association, which was the chief purpose of the conference, but rather around the proposed name for the expanded

body, the National Secular School Association. Richard Cobden took a leading part in the debate. He suggested that the word "non-sectarian" be substituted for the word "secular" since this word meant "non-religious" to most people. When Dr. Hodgson and Dr. Watts objected to the alteration, he pointed out that they would meet nothing but opposition if they persisted in using such a word, especially from Edward Baines whom Cobden described as leading a very large and formidable party of Voluntaryists. Although McKerrow explained that the use of the word "secular" by the Lancaster Public School Association meant the setting aside of a special time when the children could receive special instruction carried on by ministers of their own faith, Cobden remained adamant. He insisted that such a word would provide their opponents with an issue that they could not fail to use to the best possible advantage against the Association.³² W. E. Foster moved an amendment that the word "secular" be changed to "non-sectarian"; but after much heated discussion, during which he threatened to resign from the committee, he withdrew the motion. In the end, a resolution to substitute the word "public" instead of "secular" in the name of the association was passed unanimously; but in spite of Cobden's efforts the word "secular" remained in the body of Walker's proposal.³³

On the second day of the conference, which now had become a town meeting, the National Public School Association was officially formed with the old organization and officers of the Lancaster Public School Association assuming a new role, and with Manchester remaining the headquarters. Little change had been required other than certain modifications in the plan to meet the needs of England and Wales rather than the single county of Lancaster.³⁴

Indeed, the members seemed to have every reason to view the development of their Association with satisfaction. In addition to the fact that the conference drew such a large attendance and engendered such widespread interest, there were two other indications that might lead the more optimistic secularists to believe that the success of their plan was practically assured. The first of these was the generous donations that were made to advance the cause--five men together contributed £800 while others gave smaller but still significant amounts.³⁵ The second indication may be seen in the reaction of the supporters of the Church schools to this latest victory. Charles Richson, by now one of their chief spokesmen, wrote to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth after the meeting on October 31, and reported with regret that after this latest triumph he saw nothing ahead but the dissolution of the Manchester Church Education Society.³⁶ It would certainly seem that he had good reason to feel disheartened on this day. Manchester had become the centre of a dynamic movement dedicated to the establishment of a secular system of education that promised not only to supercede the principles of education on which the existing schools were established, but also to remove every vestige of church control over the educational system.

If October 31 marked the triumph of the Lancaster Public School Association, it was also the high water mark of this success. Difficulties and opposition which impeded its progress were not long in making an appearance. A letter from Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was the first of these. Published in *The Manchester Guardian* on November 6, it clearly set forth in the following paragraphs his reasons for refusing to attend the conference and for opposing the Secularists:

I regard the Lancashire Public School Association as the representative of a great political party which seeks to promote the education of the people for wise and just political ends. In this respect I sympathize with the labours of the Association, and I think it will be useful in bringing into strong relief not only the political objects which are dependent on the establishment of a system of national education, but also those principles of civil liberty which provide that every man should have the opportunity of so training his child that he shall be fitted by his exertions to raise himself to the exercise of political franchise with advantage to the state.

But though I sympathize with these political objects and think that the Lancashire Public School Association will do good service by bringing them publicly before the public, I cannot conscientiously concur with them in seeking to establish a system of daily schools separate from the superintendence of the great religious bodies of this country, and in which the religious influence shall not pervade the whole discipline and instruction. Moreover, I hope that, as the Association proceeds, this object will become subordinate to the great social and political rights involved in the establishment of a system of national education.³⁷

This letter is significant in that Sir James restated not only the policy of the Committee of Council on Education, and hence of the government, but also that of Lord John Russell as he had declared it in his reply to W. J. Fox in the Commons on February 26. Together they pointed out to the Secularists that they could expect little support here.

Richard Cobden's opposition to the use of the term "secular" in the name given to the Association at the conference was in itself an omen that the religious question was going to prove a major obstacle to the plans of the National Public School Association. That it was not the only obstacle he anticipated is made clear in a letter he wrote on November 9 in reply to one he had received from George Combe³⁸ who apparently had congratulated him on the success of the meeting on October 31. Cobden feared that congratulations were premature, for he felt that the importance of the conference had been over-estimated through the failure of many people to consider the difficulties that had still to be

overcome. Three difficulties he noted in particular: the inability of the Liberal party, which he termed "the very soul of Dissent," to agree on the religious question; the opposition of the Tories to the enlightenment of the people, and the continued opposition of Edward Baines and his supporters to any form of government interference in education. Because of this set of circumstances Cobden construed his position in Parliament to be one of great weakness as he could not say that he represented any particular party on the question of education. He again commented on the unfavourable position the Association placed itself in when it attempted to exclude the Bible from the schools, and he pointed out to Combe that it would be a much better plan to admit no book into the classrooms which favoured the doctrine of any faith. This was the principle adopted by the school system of Massachusetts and he explained that it was this system he intended to offer as a model, should all other attempts to introduce a national system of education fail.³⁹ Events which followed were to show how correctly Cobden had judged the situation.

Failure to recognize that the supporters of the church schools formed a very powerful and sincerely religious group was one of the weaknesses of the Secularists that Cobden had noted in his letter. But their faith in the methods that had proved so effective in bringing about the success of the Anti-Corn Law League was the other. Had the issues in the two disputes been similar, these methods may have been equally successful in bringing about a system of national education. The explicit issue involved in the repeal of the Corn Laws was economic, and a matter of facts and finance: the issue involved in the school question was religious, and a matter of beliefs and prejudices. Even

though the National Public School Association had an enthusiastic membership, an executive committee staffed by men of political skill and ability, and widespread public support, opposition based on religious principle was to prove more formidable than that encountered in the struggle for the abolition of the Corn Laws.⁴⁰

True to Cobden's prediction, Edward Baines wasted no time in coming to the defence of the voluntary school system. In four issues of the *Leeds Mercury*, beginning with that of November 9, he carried on a scathing attack against the plan proposed by the National Public School Association.⁴¹

Having anticipated the position that Baines would take, Cobden ignored the attacks and continued to take a leading part in the affairs of the Association, especially in the contest which was soon to develop with the Manchester and Salford Education Committee.⁴²

On the other hand, Baines' editorials may have been in part responsible for the long and careful deliberation on the part of the General Committee before it gave its approval to a general policy statement of the Association. It was not until December 4, almost six weeks after the conference, that the following declaration of its aims was published:

The National Public School Association is formed to promote the establishment by Law, in England and Wales, of a system of Free Schools, which supported by local rates, and managed by local authorities specially elected for that purpose by ratepayers shall impart secular instruction only; leaving to parents, guardians, and religious teachers the inculcation of doctrinal religion, to afford opportunities for which the schools shall be closed at stated times each week.⁴³

Meanwhile the members of the Association worked with enthusiasm and devotion to forward the plans for a system of free schools for the children of the poor. Dr. Watts organized meetings which led to the

development of many new branches of the Association throughout England and Wales; especially in the larger towns. This work was carried out at the same time in Scotland under the direction of George Combe, James Simpson, and M. Williams.⁴⁴ In Manchester the central office compiled statistics, published pamphlets, and made plans to establish a model school to be conducted on secularist principles.⁴⁵

The voluntaryists were not inactive, though their quieter methods were almost completely overshadowed by the great conferences and meetings of the Secularists. In September, Richson once again returned to the task of drafting a bill which he had been compelled by other duties to put aside in the spring. Using the plan he had published in January of 1848, he once again proposed a solution which had by now come to sound very much like that of the Association--a national system of free schools administered by local agencies with the power to levy a rate and to enforce some sort of conscience clause.⁴⁶ The Secularists' determination to remove church ownership and control from all the schools, and their objection to the Committee of Council on Education constituted the chief areas of disagreement.

In his Bill Richson chose not only to retain the Committee of Council but also to encourage close cooperation between it and the local schools. Such cooperation had been rejected by the [then] Lancaster Public School Association when Fox introduced his Bill in the House of Commons; and had, in fact, been the main reasons for its failure to lend the support of its organization to his venture. Richson devoted twelve clauses to the position of the Committee of Council in his proposed school system.⁴⁷ He did, however, make provision for a vice-president to be a member of the House of Commons, a change that might silence some

of the criticism that the Committee was an extra-parliamentary body and not responsible to the elected members.⁴⁸

The remaining twenty clauses of his Bill were devoted to outlining the establishment of administrative units on the county and local levels in the form of county board and school committees, and in providing schools for the children of the poor. Only those who already held some important office were eligible to become members of the county boards.⁴⁹ Each county was to be divided into rural and city or borough school districts.⁵⁰ In the rural districts members of the committee, who must own property assessed at £40 a year, were to be elected by the ratepayers.⁵¹ In the cities, the school committee was to be appointed by the council from among its members.⁵² The county board, as a corporate body, would be granted power to make bylaws and to determine the amount of money required to be raised from a school rate.⁵³ This rate was to be determined and levied by the Justice of Peace in quarter sessions.⁵⁴ The members of the board would also ensure that the managers of the schools conformed to the terms under which their schools became members of the "union" and hence entitled to receive financial aid from the rates.⁵⁵ Requests for financial assistance for maintenance of the schools were to be directed to the school committees of the local district.⁵⁶ Fees for the children were to be paid from special sums granted each year to the various schools.⁵⁷

Only those schools which hired teachers holding certificates from inspectors sent out by the Committee of Council, and which agreed that no child should be compelled to learn any "creed or formulary" to which his parents objected could claim public support.⁵⁸ Where no schools were available, and none of the church societies or other

organization offered to supply such schools, the county board would be given the power to build any that were required and to pay for these buildings out of the rates. Managers were to be chosen by the district school committee, and religious instruction was to be given in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people of the district.⁵⁹

After Richson had finished outlining his Bill, he sent copies to many persons who were interested in the schools, and, in accord with some of the suggestions he received, he altered several of the clauses. Those dealing with the Committee of Council were reduced from twelve in number to four, but the one referring to the vice-president was retained. Richson changed the payment of money from an annual grant to each school to his original idea of a payment for each child which attended a certain length of time.⁶⁰ The provision for religious instruction was altered at the urging of some members of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society from that of the faith of the majority of the people who sent their children to schools built from the rates to the following clause:⁶¹

In schools so erected (out of the rates) instruction in the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures always to be provided for; and the distinctive formularies of the Church of England to be taught within the ordinary school hours only one day in each week when those children whose parents or guardians object to such distinctive instruction may, at the request of parents or guardians, be absent.⁶²

After making these modifications, Richson continued to receive letters suggesting others until he almost despaired of ever uniting the voluntaryists in a programme of education.

In one sense, however, the work of the Secularists inadvertently came to his aid. Their persistent agitation kept public attention fixed on the question of schools for the poor. Consequently the clergy

in the poorer districts as well as many members of the Manchester Church Education Society urged Richson to continue his search for a solution which would prove acceptable to those who believed in combined secular and religious training. John Peel, William Entwisle, and G. H. Anson, all of the Established Church, became actively interested in his proposed Bill.⁶³ Of the three, it was Entwisle, former Member of Parliament for South Lancashire, who deserved the most credit for the renewal of Richson's interest. He pointed out that no private member had sufficient influence to introduce and promote a bill on national education, and that Lord John Russell's government had shown little inclination to support such a measure. In view of these circumstances, he believed that any measure for a national system of education was bound to fail. Considering the enthusiasm that had been shown in the city, he recommended that Richson give up the idea of a scheme for England and Wales and limit his Bill to Manchester and Salford alone. He also advised that every attempt should be made to gain the support of the more moderate members of the National Public School Association. He insisted that such defections would follow if some modification was made in the clauses on religious education in schools built from public funds. Reading from the Bible should be the only religious instruction offered. In his opinion, too, only laymen should be appointed as managers of these schools.⁶⁴

Encouraged by Entwisle's advice, Richson once again began the revision of his Bill. Since the school system now to be designed was to apply only to the local area, all reference to the Committee of Council was deleted, with the exception of such conditions which were necessary to secure the grants. County boards were no longer required. A school

rate of no more than five pence in the pound on all rateable property was recommended. Entwisle's suggestions regarding school managers and religious teaching were incorporated. Education was to be free and paid for from the rates as in all previous bills. A new clause was added in that children whose parents received out-door relief were to be compelled to attend school.⁶⁵

Peel and Entwisle both read Richson's work with approval when it was completed, but all three thought it advisable to consult others before the Bill was made public. Consequently, the Dean of Manchester, R. J. Jones, Robert Brandt, Daniel Maude, Oliver Heywood, and the Reverend G. H. Anson met with Peel, Entwisle, and Richson on December 30 to discuss the proposed measure.⁶⁶ Such was the interest expressed in it that those present decided to hold another meeting on January 1, and to each bring two or three friends who had shown some concern with the problem.⁶⁷

Charles Richson must have viewed the results of this small meeting with great satisfaction. In it he no doubt saw the promise of an organization dedicated to providing a system of free schools for the poor, still under the management of the churches, but financed by rate-aid. Nor would subsequent events prove him wrong, for from this small assembly was to grow the Denominationalist party. In the following year this party, made up of sincere and religious men, was to offer the powerful opposition to the National Public School Association that Richard Cobden predicted such a short time before.

CHAPTER IV

THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL

As the threat to the existing system of schools posed by the National Public School Association compelled many who defended combined religious and secular education to unite in opposition, so the methods of the Association suggested a model of action which could be emulated. To an active organization guided by an influential and capable executive committee could be attributed the progress of the Secularists in 1850. To establish a similar organization became the first aim of the Denominationalists.

The plans for this organization went ahead rapidly. In accordance with the decision made on December 30, the nine members invited E. Lloyd, T. H. Birley, S. Fletcher, R. Hampson, P. Dudgeon, R. Gladstone, W. Wilson, T. H. McGrath, W. Birley, and R. Pitcairn to join them at the second meeting held on January 1, 1851.¹ During the following five days this group enlisted the support of representatives of every religious opinion, and a third meeting was called on January 6 in the Mayor's parlour in the Town Hall of Manchester. Encouraged by the large attendance and the interest shown, those present appointed a subcommittee to study and report at a later date on Richson's Bill.² At the urging of the Bishop of Manchester and the Dean a proposal which had been made that a "conscience clause" should be mandatory only in schools depending on the rate from maintenance and repairs was rejected. A

second resolution approved publishing the following announcement in some of the papers in Manchester.

Local education. Suggestions and marginal notes for a bill to enable the inhabitants of the boroughs of Manchester and Salford, by means of local rates, to promote and stimulate education therein, and to render existing schools in the said boroughs more efficient, and to provide for the repair of school buildings therein, and effectually to supplement voluntary effort in the said boroughs, in the promotion of education. To show the practicability of constructing an effective system of local education on the basis of plans now in operation. With a preface explaining the general principles of the scheme. Second revise.³

This announcement was followed by the main points of Richson's Bill as he outlined it late in December, 1850.⁴

The first meeting of the subcommittee was held on January 10 when several members were added from religious groups which did not appear to be adequately represented. For the next six weeks regular sessions were held to prepare the report for a general meeting which was to be called in February.

Two other events were to give the proposed Bill further publicity in the month of January. The first of these was provided by a letter to *The Manchester Guardian* on January 11 in which Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth pointed out that the principles of the new Bill agreed with those of the government. In one part of the letter he expressed his opinion in the following words:

I do not perceive that the Manchester and Salford Boroughs Education Bill will, when its provisions are matured, be in opposition to any political principle which has, either directly or by implication, received the sanction of the House of Commons, or the leaders of the two great parties which have administered the affairs of the country since 1839. On the contrary, the gentlemen who have made this proposal have the merit of having rightly interpreted the direction in which the measures of Lord Melbourne's, Sir Robert Peel's, and Lord John Russell's Governments have gradually pointed, and of having defined, with a near approach to accuracy, the general principles of the arrangements which any of these administrations would have been ready to propose, if they had found public opinion sufficiently developed.⁵

The second event which drew attention to the work of the Denominationalists was the meeting of the National Public School Association in Manchester on January 22.⁶ Richard Cobden, again one of the principal speakers, devoted the greater part of his address not to the affairs of the Association, but to the new educational programme which he termed "the proposal by which everybody shall be called upon to pay for the religious training of everybody else." He predicted that this local educational bill based on a plan designed to unite the various denominations in a common cause could end in nothing but failure. At the same time he was well aware of the advantage it held in its advocacy of improvement of the existing schools rather than the radical changes recommended by the Association.⁷ In the defence of the latter, Cobden asserted that it had never been his intention to do away with the existing buildings and to waste the capital invested in them. Rather than such a step which would be interpreted as an attack on property, he suggested that the county boards should rent or purchase these buildings which would become part of the system of state schools.⁸

Meanwhile the subcommittee, in consultation with the Bishop of Manchester⁹ and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth¹⁰ completed its work and presented its report to the meeting on February 14. William Entwisle, the chairman, presented the alterations and additions which had been made in Richson's Bill to the assembly which was again made up of "many influential people of almost every variety of religious persuasion." In accordance with the suggestions of some of the Roman Catholics another clause was added to allow schools held in chapels and churches or in buildings adjacent to them to share in grants from the local taxation.¹¹ Since no other amendments were submitted, the following

resolution was unanimously carried:

That this meeting deems it advisable that publicity be given to the scheme now read, for the purpose of making the same known to the ratepayers, and securing their concurrence and assistance in obtaining an Act of Parliament to carry out the objects proposed.¹²

The work of the subcommittee was now completed. To draft what came to be called the Manchester and Salford Education Bill was assigned to an executive committee which was subsequently appointed.¹³ Before the meeting was adjourned a subscription list was begun which eventually reached a total of £8,411 5s. That the greater part of this impressive sum was contributed by those present gives some indication of their determination to maintain the existing schools based on the religious principle.¹⁴ With the necessary funds thus assured, the committee proceeded during the next few months with the work of preparing the proposed legislative measure which was to be presented in the Commons at the next session of Parliament.¹⁵

The Manchester and Salford Education Committee believed that in principle elementary education should be supported by voluntary efforts. Circumstances, however, had compelled the Denominationalists whose ideas the Committee expressed, to revise this belief. The failure of charitable contributions to meet the increasing demands for education had been accepted by all but the most dedicated Voluntaryists.¹⁶ Government grants failed to meet the needs of the poorer districts. Lack of schools and of properly qualified teachers followed from lack of funds. Both of these were viewed as causes of the failure of the children of the poor to attend school. The poverty of the parents and the absence of adequate protection for religious liberty in the schools were seen as two others.

One purpose of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee

was to bring about changes in these conditions by means of an Act of Parliament; the other was to arrange these changes so that they would meet with the approval of the wide variety of religious opinion in the two boroughs. Like the National Public School Association, the Committee proposed that all public day schools should be free. To the former, free education meant that all school costs should be paid by the state, to the latter, free education implied that school fees should be paid from local taxation. Government grants and voluntary contributions were still to provide important sources of income. Only in exceptional circumstances where voluntary contributions failed were funds from the rates to be used for other purposes.

Since local taxes implied local interest in the operation of the schools, the Manchester and Salford Education Committee proposed an administrative system which still included the Committee of Council on Education but also made provision for local school boards. The system was limited to the boroughs of Manchester, Salford, and the adjoining townships of Broughton, Pendleton, and Pendlebury.¹⁷ No provision was made in the Bill for incorporating other areas. Two school districts were to be formed; one from the borough of Manchester alone, the other to include Salford and the three townships. Each school district was to choose members for the board or District School Committee. Direct election by the ratepayers was to take place only for the three members from the township who would join the six from Salford chosen by the town councillors from among their own group. The Manchester District School Committee's nine members were all chosen from the town council.¹⁸

Schools in each district were said to be in "union" with the District School Committee if certain conditions were accepted. First,

agreement of the majority of trustees, managers, or proprietors must be obtained before a public day school¹⁹ could be placed in the union.²⁰ Secondly, assurance must be given that certain provisions were being met in the operation of the schools.²¹ These included willingness to accept inspection by government inspectors, and the employment of teachers who held either a certificate of merit from the Committee of Council or a letter of authority from either local or government inspectors.²² A third condition was the provision of adequate classroom space which was set as six square feet for each pupil.²³

Success in meeting these requirements qualified a school to receive financial assistance from both the central and local governments. In addition special provisions were proposed in the Bill to extend rate-aid to others which failed to qualify for government grants either because admission of Her Majesty's inspectors was refused, or because of the location of the classrooms in or adjacent to places of worship. In the former case acceptance of local inspection could be substituted for that of the central government; in the latter, location did not preclude rate-aid if other conditions of union were met, and reading from the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures was made a part of the daily programme of instruction. Schools which failed to fall into any of these categories were denied rate-aid.²⁴

The responsibility for determining the amount of local taxation required, its collection, and distribution was to be divided between the Town Councils and the two District School Committees. The amount of money needed to pay the school fees and to defray other expenses which were to be met from the rates was estimated by the School Committees for each district. This requisition was then to be given to

the treasurer of the Town Council. The Town Council would have two methods of raising the required funds, either a separate school tax could be levied or an increase could be made in the poor rates. Whichever method was adopted, the new tax was to be based on the assessment of property which had been made for the poor rates. The maximum amount which could be levied was limited to 6d in the pound. Any ratepayer who disputed his assessment or the amount of the school tax would have the right to appeal the case to the court sitting in quarter sessions. Should he object to his taxes being used to support certain religious schools, he was to be allowed to specify the schools which he wished to maintain. In the event that one group of schools was assigned a surplus, the District School Committee was to be authorized to transfer this surplus to others in the area which required additional aid.²⁵

The amount of rate-aid which was granted to any school was to be determined by the number of pupils, their sex, and the regularity of their attendance. In the place of school fees, the treasurer of the Town Council was to pay fivepence a week for each boy over six years of age who attended the school. Payments for each girl, and for boys under six, were fourpence. The minimum attendance which could be counted as a week was three and one-half days.²⁶

Areas where no school accommodation was available presented a special problem which the Manchester and Salford Education Committee attempted to solve. Every opportunity was to be given, by the provisions of the Bill, to voluntary agencies to supply accommodation for the children of the poor in these areas. Should the educational societies or other benevolent persons fail to accept the responsibility after publication of a notice in the local papers for sixty days, then

the District School Committee would be granted the right to proceed with providing a school. It was to be financed entirely from the rates and managed by a committee made up of fifteen ratepayers selected by the District School Committee. Only those owning property with an assessed value of twenty pounds a year were acceptable as members of the board. As in the case of the District School Committee, all clergymen and ministers were ineligible.²⁷

The position to be assigned to the Committee of Council in relation to the two school districts of Manchester and Salford posed a difficult problem for the Education Committee. The failure of the Lancaster Public School Association to lend its support to Fox's education Bill had been attributed to the extensive powers he proposed to give to the Committee of Council and through it, to the central government. Any new educational measure must be designed to avoid a repetition of Fox's error. On the other hand any attempt to abolish the Committee of Council implied an adoption of the radical measures of the Secularists. The Manchester and Salford Education Committee sought a compromise between the two positions.²⁸ The structure on which aid to elementary schools had gradually been built in the past eighteen years was retained. Grants matched by voluntary subscriptions, the right of inspection, and control of teacher certification were maintained.²⁹ But new powers were added. Bylaws proposed by the District School Committee were not valid until approved by the Committee of Council,³⁰ which would also act as a court of appeal for managers of schools refused entry into the union,³¹ or others which had been excluded for violation of the terms of the union.³² Local inspectors were to be appointed by the Committee of Council on the advice of the

local educational agency, while terms for payment of half of the salaries for these new civil servants were included in the Bill.³³ Further, any change in the management of a school admitted to the union must be submitted to the educational office in London before such a change became effective.³⁴ Only after approval from the central office could land be purchased or school buildings be constructed out of the rates by the District School Committees.³⁵

All these measures incorporated into the Manchester and Salford Education Bill were designed to solve the problem of supplying adequate accommodation and financial assistance. To induce parents to send their children to school was the second problem which confronted those who were formulating the Bill. With the exception of a few Radicals, such as Cobden, not many were ready to recommend compulsory education³⁶ for other than those children whose parents received out-door relief.³⁷ Richson's survey in 1848 of mill and factory owners who indicated that they would give preference to employees who could read and write should education be made free had not been forgotten. In the absence of any guarantee that such action would be taken, the best plan seemed to lie in improving the quality of education so that its value would be apparent to all.

Several clauses were included, therefore, in the Manchester and Salford Education Bill to ensure that the necessary changes would follow. Allocation of adequate space to prevent overcrowding in the classrooms, teachers who held certificates from the government; and provision for increased inspection, already noted as terms under which schools were brought into union, would in themselves tend to improve the quality of instruction offered. In addition, one-sixth of the amount of school

fees paid to the manager was to be allotted to paying for books and paper, janitor service, heat, furnishings, repairs, and insurance. The remaining five-sixths was to be used in lieu of that part of the teacher's salary which had been paid from voluntary contributions.³⁸ With this payment guaranteed from the rates, augmentation grants³⁹ from the Committee of Council were also assured and better qualified teachers could be hired. The number of pupils was limited to eighty for each teacher. Stipendiary monitors and apprentice-teachers were not to replace qualified teachers.⁴⁰ Instruction was to be given in reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, English history, the elements of geography, and in girls' schools, plain needlework.⁴¹

To ensure that these regulations were carried out, inspection of the schools in the union was to be increased. Three local inspectors were to be hired and paid jointly by the Committee of Council and the District School Committee. The new inspectors were to live in the district and were to devote all their time to inspection of the local schools and examination of teachers and pupils.⁴² An additional duty assigned them was to supervise the payment of "rewards and gratuities" and the awarding of certificates of merit to scholars who passed special examinations. The names of the latter were also to be published in the local papers, and attempts made to secure scholarships for them so that they could continue their education.⁴³ This system of honours was intended to provide an example which other children might choose to follow.

To raise the standards of secular education was one solution to the problem of low attendance; to resolve the religious question was another. Since a large portion of the public day schools⁴⁴ were

conducted by the Established Church, another commonly held opinion was that Dissenters were reluctant to send their children to classes where they would be taught erroneous doctrines. In addition, support of schools by public rates precluded religious favouritism. But the basic premise of the Denominationalists' position was that the religious nature of the schools must be maintained. This stand formed the principal ground of their opposition to the secular programme of the National Public School Association. To retain religious education without infringing on religious liberty was the final problem confronting the Manchester and Salford Education Committee.

A "conscience clause" which stated that "no child shall be required to learn any distinctive religious creed, catechism, or formula to which the parents [might] object; or to attend any particular Sunday School or place of religious worship" was one guarantee of religious liberty provided in the Manchester and Salford Education Bill.⁴⁵ A second clause gave parents the right to choose the school they wished their child to attend.⁴⁶ Those who were in holy orders or ministers or preachers of religion were not allowed to teach in schools which received rate-aid.⁴⁷ In schools built by the District School Committees, religious instruction was to be limited to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures in the Authorized Version, which was a required part of the daily programme of instruction.⁴⁸ Schools in which the managers failed to enforce these regulations were subject to exclusion from the union and from any aid from the rates.⁴⁹ Members of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee trusted that these terms would meet the approval of all who were anxious that religious liberty be guaranteed

In the short period of three months, the work of the

Denominationalists seemed to give promise that a compromise was possible after so many years of controversy. So unusual was the agreement of the members of the Committee, representing as they did such a wide variety of religious opinion, that *The Manchester Guardian* termed it "the nearest approximation to millenium that our imperfect nature has yet witnessed."⁵⁰ Like the National Public School Association, the Denominationalists now had an active organization, a plan for a new educational system, a large subscription to finance a bill, and many influential members. Unlike the Association which had come to terms with and achieved unity on the religious subject, the Manchester and Salford Education Committee was constantly threatened by dissension within its own ranks. By the middle of March the first rift came, as Cobden had predicted, over the question of religious education.

Once the terms of the Bill had become finalized, the Roman Catholic clergy, who were said to represent 100,000 Roman Catholics⁵¹ in Manchester and Salford, withdrew their support. Dr. Errington and the Reverend W. Turner resigned from the Committee. Their objections to the Bill were based primarily on the required reading of the Holy Scriptures from the Authorized Version. In a declaration published on March 15, they pointed out that such a provision discriminated against both Catholic children and Roman Catholic schools.⁵² The "conscience clause" could not protect the pupils who would be compelled to listen to the Protestant version of the Bible should they attend rate-aided schools operated by other denominations. Nor would they be protected by the clause which gave parents the right to choose the school which their child would attend. The shortage of Roman Catholic schools in Manchester meant that many children would be forced to seek a place in

Protestant schools or to remain at home.⁵³ Similarly, schools built from the rates would be closed to Roman Catholic students. In conclusion, attention was drawn to the fact that Protestant schools which were not permitted to receive government grants were admitted to the union and a share in the rates if inspection was accepted and reading from the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures made a part of daily instruction. This last provision excluded Roman Catholic schools while members of their church would still be required to pay the rates.⁵⁴

The position taken by the Roman Catholic clergy was the subject of discussion at a subsequent meeting of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee.⁵⁵ Although a desire for conciliation was recorded in the minutes there is also evidence of a wide difference of opinion separating the two groups. The Committee refused to make any concessions in the requirements for the reading from the Holy Scriptures in the Authorized Version. The "conscience clause" in its opinion was designed to exempt pupils from compulsory attendance of religious instruction which involved specific doctrines, but not from that given in the course of regular lessons. In reply to the charge that a parent's choice of schools was limited because of lack of those supported by the Roman Catholic Church, the Committee asserted this could be the case only in areas where the denomination to which he belonged had failed to provide sufficient and available means of instruction. The reading of the Holy Scriptures as a part of daily instruction in the schools built from the rates was, in the opinion of the Committee, the least provision that could be made and still retain the religious nature of the school. Once again the suggestion was made that if any denomination required additional religious education in such a district, the remedy lay in building

its own school.⁵⁶

Certainly the attitude adopted by the Committee was not one of compromise. The Roman Catholic clergy made no reply and the break was complete. Shortly after this meeting the Society of Friends rejected the plan for rate-aided denominational schools on the grounds that the ratepayers were required to pay for the teaching of religions of which they disapproved. The Jews also took no further part in the discussions.⁵⁷

These disaffections were soon to be followed by other events which showed those who supported the Manchester and Salford Education Bill that in spite of their most diligent efforts to reach a compromise strong opposition could be expected. On March 17 the National Public School Association adopted a scheme for instituting a general system of secular education in England and Wales, a clear indication that a bill in opposition to that of the Denominationalists was being prepared.⁵⁸

In the April issue of the *Eclectic Review*⁵⁹ both plans were attacked on Voluntaryist grounds, but the most vitriolic criticisms were directed against that of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee. Any attempts to reform education by means of legislation was censured on the grounds that modern reform was directed toward the repeal of old and outmoded laws rather than the creation of new ones. The use of public money, whether grants or rates, to subsidize education was regarded as a violation of Nonconformist principles which rejected payment for religious teaching of any kind. The Committee of Council, the National Public School Association, and the Manchester and Salford Education Committee were all believed to be determined to increase government influence at the expense of civil and religious liberty.

The Manchester and Salford plan was seen as a return to a system of universal endowments, a natural outgrowth of the policy of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth and the government for the past ten years. Richson's scheme was, according to the *Eclectic Review*, simply an adaptation of the continental plan of state endowment of all religions.

Condemnation of the plan, however, was not limited to the general principles. Specific clauses were denounced with equal vigour. To allow the ratepayer to assign his taxes to a particular school was termed a "useless" procedure. Dissenters' schools, unable to accept grants or rate aid, would either be destroyed or made twice as expensive.⁶⁰ Control of bylaws, appeals, and inspectors would lead to an increase in the power of the Committee of Council. Schools placed under three authorities would result in divided responsibility and inevitable conflict. The expense would be enormous and, those who believed free schools would encourage attendance were mistaken. Children would still be sent to work for the money they could earn. Lack of competition would destroy the quality of the schools. The writer went so far as to note "how the Establishmentarians and the Communists agree in decrying voluntary action, destroying competition, calling in government agency, and invading liberty."⁶¹

No doubt the *Eclectic Review* was giving voice to the more radical element of the Voluntaryist party, nevertheless, the members of the Manchester and Salford group were given an indication of the opposition which they could expect in the future.

The Voluntaryists were not alone in denouncing the Bill. On April 7 Archdeacon G. A. Denison, representative of the extreme High Church party, published a pamphlet entitled "Objections to and Remarks

upon the Manchester and Salford 'Education Scheme'."⁶² He agreed with the Voluntaryists that rate-aid to supply education was inconsistent with religious liberty, that the power of the Committee of Council would be increased, that voluntary effort would be discouraged, and that right granted to choose a school would prove unworkable. As a Churchman, however, Denison saw in the plan an additional danger. The proposal to limit religious education to the reading of the Holy Scriptures was, in his opinion, but one short step from the declared policy of the National Public School Association. Implementation of such a proposal could only result in the destruction of the religious principle on which Church schools were founded. His pamphlet was concluded with a plea to all who were interested in preserving religious education, Churchmen and Dissenters alike, to unite in "vigorous and steady" opposition to such a scheme.⁶³

In spite of these attacks, which must not have been unexpected, subsequent events encouraged the Denominationalists to continue with their plan. On May 22 W. J. Fox introduced on behalf of the National Public School Association the following resolution in the Commons:

That it is expedient to promote the education of the People, in England and Wales, by the establishment of Free schools for secular instruction, to be supported by local rates, and managed by Committees elected especially for the purpose by the ratepayers.⁶⁴

As he had done in February of the previous year, he once again drew the attention of the House to the lack of education and the rising incidence of crime, to the inequality of the distribution of the grants in favour of the National Society, and to the continued quarrels between the different religious groups which prevented any settlement of the question. As an example, he noted that the most recent efforts by the

Manchester and Salford Education Committee to reach a compromise had ended in failure. The secular plan which he endorsed offered the only solution to the disputes that were preventing anything being done to educate the children of the poor.⁶⁵

This resolution met with the same opposition which had greeted his first Bill. That religion would be destroyed, that the power of government would be increased, and that rate-aid would infringe upon civil and religious liberty were the three chief criticisms levelled at the measure. Although such charges were ably answered by J. Hume, Richard Cobden, and T. Milner-Gibson,⁶⁶ the principal cause of its defeat was the opposition of Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, and Sir William Page Wood, the Solicitor General, both of whom spoke against it for the government. The former pointed out that Fox was mistaken in his charge that the Manchester and Salford scheme was a failure. To the best of Grey's knowledge the Committee was very active and only the two members of the Roman Catholic clergy who were members had withdrawn.⁶⁷ He also contended that this attempt to reach a compromise held out some hope that elementary education could be established on the religious principle, a principle which the majority of the people of the country preferred.

Sir William Page Wood, in support of Grey's arguments, saw in the Manchester and Salford solution an alternative to the radical legislation advanced by the Secularists. He termed the plan of combined religious and secular education supported by the rates as the most promising solution to the problem yet to be put forward. Further, he observed that "this Committee had secured the cooperation of a large body of the people to a system which seemed to have met the difficulty

which encompassed the subject in a manner which had not been previously proposed."⁶⁸

These expressions of approval must have led the Manchester and Salford Education Committee to hope that approbation would be translated into active government support for its Bill in the future. Closer examination of the speeches of both the Home Secretary and the Solicitor General raised the question of the extent of this support for both expressed disapproval of rate-aid, a feature common to the bills of the National Public School Association and the Manchester and Salford Education Committee.⁶⁹

Although Fox's resolution was defeated by a vote of 49 to 139, his latest attempt to establish a universal system of free education was not without significance to both parties in Manchester. To the Denominationalists this was the first serious check which the Secularists had encountered since the establishment of the Lancaster Public School Association in 1847. At the same time government opposition to rate-aid in the Commons suggested that renewed attempts to reach a compromise with the Association would be wise. The Secularists, for their part, were willing to view such a compromise in a more favourable light than had been the case before the defeat of Fox's Bill.

A meeting was held in June between representatives of the Association and the Manchester and Salford Education Committee. Shortly afterwards the former group announced that the provision for purchasing or leasing existing schools had been adopted. Schools already in operation were to become free under the direction of the present managers who would be paid a weekly grant from the rates for each scholar. Doctrinal religion was to be taught at a specified time each day, and children

could absent themselves from such instruction if their parents wished. Money from the rates was not to be used to pay for the special religious instruction, nor was the teaching of such classes to be a part of the regular master's duty.⁷⁰

By the summer of 1851 the differences separating the two educational parties were very narrow. Both accepted the principles of local rating, of free education, and of the establishment of new schools where required. The Association still opposed the limited area encompassed in the local bill, and the denominational basis of the schools, but the recent amendment did much to nullify this last objection. A coalition of the two parties appeared imminent.

That such a compromise was not reached was attributed by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth to the intransigence of William Entwisle, chairman of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee. Evidence of his attitude was apparent even before the Roman Catholic clergy withdrew their support in March. Entwisle's refusal to yield in the provisions for the reading of the Holy Scriptures in Authorized Version, which could be interpreted by Dissenters as an attempt to legislate the kind of religious teaching to be given in their schools, led to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's insistence that the ratepayer be allowed to allocate his payments to the school of his choice.⁷¹ According to Sir James this clause was made a part of the Bill only after the meeting of February 19, and repeated urging on his part.

After the amendment was officially adopted by the Executive Committee of the National Public School Association on August 12, 1851, Entwisle, in one of a series of letters to *The Manchester Guardian*, wrote:

Now this 'supplementary clause' is really nothing more or less than a total revolution; for it is evident at once that the proposed new scheme shrinks at once from its former colossal proportions and itself becomes a mere supplement to the existing system. . . .

Their proposition is not to create a system but to supply a defect: not to raise a structure from its foundations, complete in every part, but to fill up a gap in the old one: a much more humble office in which it exactly resembles the proposed local measure.⁷²

Even though Entwisle was willing to agree that there was no longer any great difference between the plans of the two societies, he lost the support of the Secularists as he had that of the Roman Catholics earlier in the year. The point he now contested was no longer the reading of the Holy Scriptures but that the inculcating of doctrinal religion should no longer be a part of a teacher's duty. The National Public School Association refused to make any further concessions in the direction of religious teaching and the promise of compromise came to nothing.⁷³

Despite the fact that the chances of the Denominationalist's Bill meeting with success were reduced in the face of the continued opposition of the National Public School Association, the Manchester and Salford Education Committee continued its efforts to gain support. Petitions were presented to both Houses of Parliament in August.⁷⁴ Richson published his pamphlet, *A Sketch of Some of the Causes of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, in which he once more urged all groups to unite in the cause of education and to set an example to the whole country in "caring for the poor."⁷⁵

Richson's appeal, a letter by Entwisle entitled "An Apology for a Churchman's Support of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill", and an article signed by C. H. Minchin, secretary of the Executive Committee, and published in the *Manchester Courier* on October 25 together brought

Archdeacon Denison again into the controversy. In a pamphlet, *A Reply to the Committee of the Promoters of the Manchester and Salford Education*, he declared that his purpose for writing was to persuade the public "to beware how they touch . . . the scheme, or any scheme based on an Education Rate, with so much as their little finger, except to destroy it."⁷⁶ He pointed out that, in his opinion, there was little difference between this plan and that of the Secularists.⁷⁷ Both promised to destroy religious education, voluntary effort, and religious liberty.⁷⁸ In opposition to this view, the Bishop of Manchester reiterated his former defence of a "conscience clause" in his charge published on November 15. He explained that although he would never consent to give up the use of the Catechism, the Prayer Book, and the distinctive teaching of the Church of England in the Church schools, at the same time he would restrict their use to particular periods of the week when the child of the Dissenter would be permitted to absent himself.⁷⁹

These arguments no longer offer anything new, but their significance lay in the fact that they provided evidence of the continued interest in the work of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee and its supporters.

In December, almost a year after the nine members of the Established Church had first discussed the Manchester and Salford Education Bill, a large meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall where representatives of five denominations spoke in favour of the measure.⁸⁰ If the enthusiasm failed to match that demonstrated at the great meetings of the National Public School Association, the explanation lay in the differences between the two organizations rather than in lack of zeal on

the part of the smaller group. Limited in its membership to those who lived in the two boroughs, it failed to arouse as wide an interest as did the National Public School Association whose adherents came from all parts of England and Wales. Furthermore, the Secularists proposed to institute an original and untried experiment while the Denominationalists advocated aid to an old and established system. To proclaim the new was a simpler matter than to defend the old. The Association held an additional advantage in that many members of its executive committee had gained experience in the work of the Anti-Corn Law League. Nevertheless, a relatively small number of "sincere and religious" men had managed to interrupt the progress of the Secularists' organization and had forced it not only to modify its programme but also to consider seriously the advantages of a compromise between the two parties. These were accomplishments of no mean proportions.

CHAPTER V

THE FATE OF THE BILL

Advocates of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill had envisioned in the principle of compromise a solution to the problem of providing elementary education. That this principle also involved criticism and opposition had been made clear by the Secularists, the Voluntaryists, and the High Church party, as well as the Roman Catholics, the Quakers, and the Jews. What had proved true on the local level during 1851 was to prove equally true on the national level. To the opposition on religious grounds were added the difficulties which arose from two changes of government, the lengthy deliberations of two special Parliamentary Committees on education, and the introduction of an alternate education bill. Because of these circumstances the story of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill is one of delay for the next three years. When it was brought before the Commons for the third time in 1854, the imminence of the Crimean War created a climate of opinion unfavourable to social legislation. In spite of the obstacles which arose, those who supported the Manchester scheme never ceased in their efforts to make their plan a reality.

The Bill was given first reading shortly after Parliament was convened in February of 1852. That serious difficulties were to be encountered became evident when Joseph Brotherton, Member of Parliament for Salford, moved on February 11 that the Manchester and Salford Education Bill be given second reading. In support of his motion he drew

the attention of the members of the House to the fact that the measure was an attempt by the people of Manchester to effect the wishes of the Queen "that the youth of the country should be religiously brought up, the rights of conscience being duly respected." The ratepayers who would be called upon to finance the proposed system of free schools had shown their support when 27,596 from Manchester, 6,392 from Salford, and 2,396 from Broughton had signed a petition endorsing the Bill.

He explained that since he himself was a member of the National Public School Association, his sympathies naturally lay with the secular scheme of education which would not infringe on the conscience and rights of any man. However, despair of such a scheme ever meeting with the approval of the majority had led him to accept the Denominationalists' plan which seemed to have some chance of success. As all classes in Manchester and Salford had made mutual concessions in their desire to provide education for the children of the poor, so he hoped that the members of the Commons would consider the Bill in the same spirit of compromise. He conceded that it was new and experimental in principle; but he insisted that serious problems demanded radical remedies. On these grounds he trusted that his motion for second reading would receive the support of the House.¹

W. B. Brown, Member of Parliament for South Lancashire, seconded Brotherton's motion and also called on those present to vote in favour of the Bill's being read the second time. Those who could not support it in good conscience should not prevent it from being sent to Committee. If nothing else, it contained much valuable information which could prove useful to the Prime Minister who had indicated that he intended to bring in a general measure for education in 1853.²

Opposition, however, arose from a variety of sectors of the House. Both T. Milner-Gibson and John Bright, as representatives for Manchester, argued that the Bill had neither the support of the majority of ratepayers in the two boroughs nor of the Town Council who was holding a special meeting on February 18 to consider the measure. Milner-Gibson therefore proposed that the second reading be postponed until the decision of the Council could be known.³ Bright believed that the opinion of the Corporation of Manchester was of particular importance since the entire population of the boroughs was to be charged a rate, and the responsibility of collecting it lay with their elected representatives.⁴

W. E. Gladstone, who spoke in support of Milner-Gibson's amendment, expressed doubt that a measure which affected the public and the general law of the country should be considered as a private bill. He believed that such a procedure would set a pattern for future legislation and must be judged in this context. He noted that what was being advocated was education based on the new principle of supporting existing schools out of the rates. Should the Bill become law, a second precedent would be established in that schools built from the rates were to be operated on a religious basis. That the Bill offered a "full, perfect, and consummate system of popular education for one district" Gladstone was ready to concede. Nevertheless, members should consider the consequences of legalizing such a system. First one large city and then another would seek permission to set up their own particular scheme. It was difficult to see where such a practice would lead. He commended those who had worked so hard to overcome the differences of opinion and to promote the cause of public education, but he maintained that the subject was of too great importance to be considered in a private bill.⁵

Joseph Hume and W. J. Fox supported Milner-Gibson's amendment. Hume, who had long been a proponent of the secular system, drew the attention of the House to the fact that neither the Home Secretary (Sir George Grey) nor the First Lord of the Treasury (Lord John Russell) was present in the Commons. Since education was their responsibility, discussion should be postponed until they could attend. He, like Bright and Milner-Gibson, questioned the number of ratepayers that were supposed to have signed the petition in favour of the Bill. Of those who had, he believed that many thought they were agreeing to the need for education and did not realize that they were declaring their support for the principle of rate-aid to schools operated by the different religious denominations. Nor was the attendance at public meetings any indication of support of the Denominationalists' plan, since these meetings were open only to those who had been given special invitations.⁶

Fox, in his turn, pointed out that the Roman Catholics, the Quakers, the Jews, and the Secularists had prepared a counter-petition against the Manchester and Salford Education Bill which had been signed by many working men whose children would be affected. The Voluntaryists also opposed the measure. There was a danger that controversy would become as bitter as that which had arisen over the Church rates, and the success of a more general scheme of education which was bound to come would be endangered.⁷

J. Wilson Patten and Edward Cardwell both argued that the second reading should not be postponed on the same grounds that Brotherton had advanced; that is, that the hundreds of people who had supported the Bill had a right to have their wishes considered. Wilson Patten suggested that rather than allow it to die without a proper hearing, a

special committee should be appointed to study the principles on which it was based and to suggest changes which might prove to be more acceptable.⁸

With the exception of Brotherton, those who defended the motion for second reading came from ridings which would not be affected should the Bill become law. Both Wilson Patten who represented North Lancashire and Cardwell who was one of the members of Parliament for Liverpool were placed in the awkward position of defending a scheme which was repudiated by members from the constituency where the new system of education was to be established. Since no agreement could be reached, the debate was adjourned until the following week. More than a month was to pass, however, before the discussion on Brotherton's motion for the second reading was to be resumed.

Meanwhile, the meeting of the Town Council of Manchester was held on February 18 to discuss the position to be adopted in relation to the Denominationalists' plan. After more than six hours of deliberation the following resolution was approved:

That the Bill before the Council entitled "A Bill for Promoting Education in the Municipal Boroughs of Manchester and Salford and the contiguous townships of Broughton, Pendleton, and Pendlebury" is not necessary; that the powers sought by the Bill would, if obtained, usurp the most important functions of the council, operate oppressively on the ratepayers, invade the rights of conscience, and interfere with the sacred duties of the parents. That it be an instruction to the 'Committee of general purposes' to take steps to prevent the said bill from passing into law.⁹

Of the membership of fifty-six, thirty-four voted for this resolution. Their decision was interpreted by the Secularists as an indication of the growing disapproval of the plan. *The Athenaeum* which published an account of the meeting on March 6 concurred with this conclusion, observing that the Manchester and Salford Education Bill was now

misnamed and that the people of Manchester must demonstrate whether or not their councillors represented their views and wishes on the important question of education.¹⁰

The position adopted by the Town Council was to prove only the first reverse that those who supported the Manchester and Salford Education Bill encountered during this week. Events which transpired on the national level were no more encouraging. On February 20, Lord John Russell's government was defeated on the issue of the Militia Bill and Lord Derby followed him into office.¹¹ That Lord Derby was aware of the importance of the problem of education was evident from the attention he gave to it in a policy statement which he delivered to the House of Lords a week after he took office. In his opinion, however, this field belonged by custom and right to the Church and the clergy rather than to the state. Such a policy appeared to promise government opposition to any programme which advocated rate-aid to the existing schools.¹²

As a result of these events, it was not until March 17 that the Bill was brought before the Commons. Once again Joseph Brotherton moved that it be given second reading. He pointed out that even though the Town Council of Manchester had rejected it, that of Salford had supported it by a vote of seventeen to fourteen. Milner-Gibson, in reply to Brotherton's motion proposed the following amendment:

That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of education in the municipal boroughs of Manchester and Salford and certain townships and whether it is advisable to make any further provisions for the education of the inhabitants of such boroughs and townships by means of a rate.¹³

J. A. Roebuck who had long supported secular education seconded the motion. Spencer Walpole, Home Secretary for the Conservative Government, indicated that the new ministry had no intention of lending its

support to the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. In its provision for public rates, free schools, a compulsory "conscience clause," and schools built from the rates he saw new principles which, if made into law, would set precedents the consequences of which were difficult to foresee.¹⁴ Since the immediate effect would be to destroy voluntary effort and parental responsibility, he supported Milner-Gibson's amendment on the condition that the reference to rate-aid should be omitted.¹⁵ Lord John Russell joined Walpole in objecting to the mention of the rates and at the same time spoke against making any changes in the present voluntary system supplemented by government grants.¹⁶

Although their grounds for opposing the Bill were different, Whig, Tory, and Radicals could unite when the debate centred on the question of the second reading and the proposed amendment.¹⁷ In the face of this powerful opposition, Cardwell¹⁸ on behalf of the Denominationalists agreed to the appointment of a select committee. Milner-Gibson's policy of delay had been successful, and another year would pass before the Bill again came before the Commons.

Neither was the Select Committee to be formed without difficulty. Fifteen members, including Milner-Gibson, Bright, Fox, and Cobden were appointed on March 26.¹⁹ That four skilful advocates of the secular plan should be appointed gave rise to objections from those who represented the interests of the Voluntaryists and of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee. On March 29, James Kershaw, Member of Parliament for Stockport, moved in the Commons that James Pilkington who supported the Voluntaryists should be made the sixteenth member of the Select Committee. Wilson Patten, speaking for the Denominationalists, charged that "the constitution of the Committee was such that the promoters of the

Bill felt they had so little chance before a Committee so largely constituted of opponents that they were inclined to withdraw the Bill."²⁰ Both Walpole and Milner-Gibson opposed any changes and both motions for additional members were defeated.²¹

The first meeting of the Select Committee was held on March 31. In a letter written on April 2 to Henry Ker Seymer, Archdeacon Denison sought permission to give evidence. He gave three reasons to support his request. First, he claimed to possess a great deal of useful information on the condition of education in the two boroughs; secondly, he believed that the interests of the National Society would be jeopardized should the Manchester and Salford Bill become law; and thirdly, he was prepared to prove that a school rate was both unjust and dangerous.²² His wish was not granted. With the exception of brief statements by Horace Mann and A. Kay all of the fifteen meetings which the Committee held between March 31 and June 21 were devoted to the examination of Richson, Dean Bowers, and Entwisle for the Denominationalists; and Edward Baines and Joseph Adshead for the Voluntaryists.

Richson was the first witness to be called before the Committee. His testimony, which makes up more than one hundred pages of the first report, illustrated the careful research which had been carried out by the Manchester and Salford Education Committee. From the time that he first became secretary of the Manchester Church Education Society in 1843, he had been convinced that the poverty of the majority of the working classes prevented them from educating their children. Evidence of their poverty was readily available from a survey of the homes where they lived and the wages which they were paid. Their poverty in turn affected the quality of education given in the schools and the number

of children which attended. Lack of education resulted in pauperism and crime which cost the taxpayers a great deal more than free schools. Voluntaryism was able to provide schools but it could not maintain them, and only rate-aid could offer a solution to the problem. These formed the basic premises of Richson's evidence.

To determine the number of children whose fees must be paid by the ratepayers of the two districts was first the task of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee. To find the answer to this question a survey based on the assessed value of the houses for purposes of paying the poor rate was made. In a population of 390,872 for Manchester and Salford, it was found that 75 per cent of the people lived in houses assessed under £10 a year, 11 per cent in those between £10 and £18, and 14 per cent lived in those above £18.²³ That the majority of children who could be expected to attend common elementary schools, or public day schools, came from very poor homes was shown by a second survey of 1,274 families whose children attended 23 schools chosen from a variety of districts. From this survey Richson was able to show 94 per cent of the children lived in houses rated under £18.²⁴ A further investigation of 777 families whose children were registered in 12 common elementary schools, again selected from districts of different degrees of poverty, provided evidence that 53 per cent of the families had total earnings of less than 20s. per week.²⁵ Joseph Adshead, who gave evidence later, corroborated Richson's statements regarding the poverty of the workers when he estimated that the average weekly wage of an adult in the cotton mills ranged from 10s. to 12s. per week. If bread was approximately 5d a loaf and a family of 6 persons ate 10 loaves each week, the degree of poverty experienced by many of the

people of Manchester is not difficult to understand.²⁶ Another indication of the "condition of the people" was the extremely high death rate among children under 5 years of age. According to the census of 1852 almost half of those in that particular age group in Manchester died in the year 1849.²⁷ In Richson's opinion all of these facts showed that in the majority of families to pay school fees as low as 2d to 4d a week was impossible.

Studies conducted under the direction of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee on the matter of school attendance, the reasons for the failure of the poor to take advantage of the schools provided by the various religious denominations, and the quality of education offered seemed to substantiate Richson's conclusion.

Dealing first with the problem of school attendance, Richson drew the attention of the members of the Select Committee to the fact that only 35 per cent of the children were registered in either the private or public elementary day schools.²⁸ Out of a total of 77,585 children between the ages of 4 and 15 years who lived in houses assessed at £18 or less, only 27,346 were in school. Had the survey included those who were 3 years old, the age when most children began their education, the total number would rise from 77,585 to 84,566. Basing further calculations on the latter figure, Richson pointed out that there were thus more than 57,000 not in school.²⁹ However, all of these could not be expected to begin school at once. Even under the best circumstances, 5 to 6 years would be the total length of attendance, consequently only about 28,000 would be present at one time. Further allowances had to be made for difficulties which would be encountered in providing facilities for this number of additional pupils. Because

of these difficulties, Richson observed that by the most optimistic estimate, a total of approximately 42,000, including those already in school and those who could be expected to enroll, could be anticipated should the Manchester and Salford Bill become law.³⁰

That more than 57,000 children were growing up in ignorance illustrated the gravity of the problem, but the irregularity of attendance of those who were registered in some school gave further cause for concern. According to the government inspectors' reports for 48 schools, the ratio of withdrawals to admissions was 77 per cent in one year. The inspectors attributed this fluctuation in attendance not to change in residence but to inability to pay school fees, to the habit of "capriciously" changing schools, and to the parents' reluctance to pay for the remainder of the week should a child be absent for one or two days. Such practices were prejudicial to the pupils' progress.³¹

Contrary to the commonly held belief that many of the children in Manchester and Salford failed to receive an education because they were employed in the factories and mills, another investigation showed that the large majority of those who were school age were unemployed. This conclusion resulted from the study of 17,246 families who had 35,527 children between the ages of 3 and 14 years. Of this total only 5,153 were at work, 14,197 were at school, and 12,067 remained at home because of the parents' inability to pay school fees.³²

Conditions which had been discovered in this research were again reflected in the fact that school attendance had failed to keep pace with population increase since 1834. Richson stated that while the population of Manchester had grown by 52-1/2 per cent and Sunday school attendance by 62-1/2 per cent; that of the day schools, both public and

private, was only 25 per cent. If the common elementary day schools alone were considered, the increase was 23-3/4 per cent.³³

Nor could this decline be attributed to the policy of the Committee of Council or lack of zeal on the part of religious denominations. The government system of stimulating voluntary effort by means of the grants had been directed toward supplying buildings, and in this it had been particularly successful.³⁴ In the two boroughs there was a surplus of accommodation in the public day schools for over 34,000 students based on an allowance of 8 sq. ft. per pupil, and this surplus would be much greater if 6 sq. ft. of space were allotted.³⁵ What the Denominationalists were advocating was rate-aid, not to build additional schools except in unusual circumstances; but to provide free education so that the children of the poor could take advantage of the existing facilities.

That the government gave grants to help pay the salaries of teachers in schools which met certain requirements was true. However, in those which failed to meet these requirements, the instruction offered was usually of a very inferior quality. Richson presented evidence to the Select Committee to show that of 89 schools visited in Manchester and Salford, the managers of 37 were able to pay their teachers a fixed salary. In the remaining 52 schools, salaries were partly fixed and partly dependent on school pence. The majority of the 37 schools were considered by the inspectors who visited them to offer satisfactory instruction. Very few in the second group were judged to be even "fair." Salaries paid to the teachers ranged from £20 to £150 annually; teachers in the "good" schools received the highest pay. From these facts Richson concluded that under the existing system,

better teachers could be hired only if fees were raised. Such a step would result in even more children of the poor being excluded from the schools.³⁶ Once again the solution to the problem seemed to lie in a municipal rate.

Nor would the cost of education in the two boroughs prove exorbitant in comparison with the amount spent on alleviating poverty and controlling crime.³⁷ Out of £152,000 collected from the borough rate in 1851, £85,000 was spent on the former and £55,000 on the latter. An additional rate of 6d in the pound for education would yield more than £32,000 which would be more than adequate to provide free schooling for the children who lived in houses assessed at less than £18.³⁸ In Richson's opinion, the education rate should be regarded not as a new expense but as a measure of economy. As more of the children were brought under the civilizing influence of education, the incidence of pauperism and crime would show a corresponding decrease.³⁹

As the basic theme of Richson's evidence had been the effects of poverty on education, so William Entwistle explained the religious principles on which the Bill was based.⁴⁰ Dean G. H. Bowers, who was the last witness for the Denominationalists outlined the history of the Manchester Church Education Society and showed the failure of voluntary effort to support the schools.⁴¹

Edward Baines, as one of the chief spokesmen for the Voluntaryists in England and Wales, had two purposes in mind when his turn came to testify before the Select Committee, to defend religious education supported by voluntary contributions and to show that the Manchester and Salford Bill infringed on civil and religious liberties.

To Richson's contention that conditions in the two boroughs were

steadily deteriorating, Baines opposed a philosophy of improvement and progress. In his opinion it was not concern for the education of the poor which motivated the Denominationalists, but a desire to increase the hold of the Church over all young people in England and Wales. If fewer were educated in Manchester than in the rest of the country, this was not evidence of the poverty of the people but of the number of children working in the mills and factories.⁴² If as many unemployed children were not in school as Richson claimed, parental irresponsibility rather than low wages was the cause. Compared with workers in the rural areas who received as little as 7s. a week, those in Manchester were very well paid. Moreover, Baines believed there was a gradual improvement taking place in the attitude of the parents and this change would soon be reflected in the schools.⁴³ Increased fees rather than increased taxation would solve the problem of providing money for the schools. Two results would follow from increased fees: the schools would be improved and people, who tend to value what is expensive, would believe the instruction offered was more desirable. Competition between the schools for the money would also bring about an improvement. The poorer ones would fail, and this was as it should be.⁴⁴

The great position Manchester had attained as an industrial and commercial centre, the number of churches and educational institutions, and the active missionary societies all illustrated the success of the voluntary principle. That there was poverty in the districts Baines acknowledged, but this was the result of the intemperance of the people rather than the lack of education. Children must suffer for the vices of their parents, but such suffering did not justify the state interference in education.⁴⁵

For Parliament to pass a law providing educational aid to all types of religions as the Manchester and Salford Education Committee and its adherents recommended would not only discriminate against the Voluntaryists but would also result in civil disobedience for many would refuse to pay the rates.⁴⁶ That such a measure could end in nothing but strife was already evident from the opposition expressed by the Town Council of Manchester, the National Public School Association, a number of clergymen of the Established Church, thirty-five ministers of the Dissenting faiths, the Roman Catholics, the Society of Friends, and the Jews.⁴⁷ To this powerful group had been added a note of censure by several thousand members of the Congregational Board of Education and the Voluntary School Association who had held a meeting in Manchester on February 3. Baines concluded that in the face of such resistance, the Manchester and Salford Education Bill could do nothing but fail.⁴⁸

Joseph Adshead continued the defence of the voluntary system on behalf of the Congregational Board of Education. Added authority was given to his opinions because of his position as a councillor for the ward of Oxford in Manchester. In reply to questions by members of the Select Committee, he asserted that Richson had painted a much gloomier picture of the conditions in the two boroughs than circumstances warranted, and that he had failed to take into consideration the work that was being done by the Sunday schools. Adshead presented lengthy statistics to prove that these schools had increased both in number and in attendance and that they offered not only a high standard of religious and moral training but also secular education which in most instances adequately met the needs of the working classes.⁴⁹

Like Baines who had testified before him, Adshead maintained that the failure of the children to attend school must be traced to causes other than poverty. Improvement in the standard of living was reflected in increased wages⁵⁰ and an accompanying decline in the cost of living, of the incidence of crime, and of pauperism.⁵¹ In addition he observed that the steady rise in the number of newspapers showed that thousands of people must be learning to read in the schools supported by voluntary contributions.⁵² There was no need for a new school system or for government interference in education.

Because of the volume of evidence presented by the representatives for the Voluntaryists and the Denominationalists, the Select Committee had been unable to hear those for the National Public School Association. Consequently no detailed report was made and the following recommendation was sent to the Commons:

That [progress had been made] in the inquiry into the state of Education in the localities named in the Order of their Reference, and [that they] have examined some witnesses as to whether it is advisable to make any further Provision for the inhabitants of those districts, but notwithstanding the amount of evidence they have received, they consider the inquiry far from complete, and in reporting the evidence to the House, as far as it has gone, have agreed to recommend that the Inquiry should be resumed at an early period.⁵³

Whether this decision was responsible for the failure of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee to take further action is difficult to ascertain. In any event nothing more was done to promote the Bill in 1852. Lord Derby's government fell in December, and the Earl of Aberdeen became leader of a coalition of Whigs and Peelites.⁵⁴ When Parliament met early in 1853, both the National Public School Association and the group from Manchester once again introduced their education bills on February 17.⁵⁵ This action resulted in the

reappointment of the Select Committee with a slightly changed membership but with the same purpose as the first; that is, to report on the conditions of education in Manchester and Salford and to decide whether any provisions were required to be made for education in the two boroughs.⁵⁶

If the representatives of the National Public School Association had not been afforded an opportunity to explain their position before the first committee, this was remedied by the second. The greater part of the thirteen meetings which were held by the Select Committee between March 7 and May 26 were devoted to the examination of Thomas Bazley, Dr. William McKerrow, and Dr. John Watts, all well-known advocates of secular education.

Thomas Bazley, President of the Chamber of Commerce in Manchester, first reviewed the areas of disagreement between his party and the Denominationalists. Like Richson, he advocated free education for the children of the working classes, but his reasons were those of the business man. He declared that ignorant workmen were inefficient and their inefficiency harmed the economy of the entire country. England's position in world trade was threatened by the growing industrial power of the United States where one out of six persons received a free education. Bazley expressed doubt that the proportion was less than one in twelve in England. To continue with this outmoded educational system could do nothing but assign the country to an inferior position in comparison with those which were more progressive.⁵⁷ Religion was the issue which prevented the institution of a system of national education in England and Wales. As the question of religious education had prevented a compromise between the National Public School Association and the Manchester and Salford Education Committee in

Manchester, so it would cause the Bill to fail in the Commons. Few would support rate-aid for denominational schools. In Bazley's opinion, the only answer lay in acceptance of the Secularist's scheme.⁵⁸

To Dr. William McKerrow, who was the second witness, failure to educate the children of the poor was but one more example of failure on the part of the government to understand that its proper duty was not only to repress social evils and punish crime but also to improve the life of the people. The policy of the Committee of Council did not extend help in education to areas where it was needed most. But the government was not alone in its neglect of the poor, according to McKerrow's testimony. The Voluntaryists, who strongly opposed the Secularists' plan of a free national education, were blinded to the true conditions of the working classes by the belief, expressed by Baines and Adshead, that there was much evidence of improvement.⁵⁹ To prove his point McKerrow read a series of reports by missionaries who described the terrible plight of those who lived in some of the poorest districts in Manchester.⁶⁰ The Congregational Board of Education and the Voluntary School Association, like the Committee of Council, had done little to extend education in such areas.⁶¹

That the Denominationalists were far more aware of the problems which existed and that they had spent a great deal of time and energy in seeking a solution was readily conceded by McKerrow. However, the compromise they offered amounted to the endowment of "various and contradictory creeds by the taxation of those who may consider such creeds unscriptural and erroneous."⁶² Neither could the "conscience clause" prevent teachers from indoctrinating children with their own particular religious belief. Only the programme of the National Public School

Association which separated religious and secular education and which provided for local management where local rates were levied promised to resolve the issues of religious teaching and of administrative responsibility.⁶³

Dr. John Watts was scheduled to begin his testimony after that of McKerrow. The hearings were interrupted however by Lord John Russell's introduction of the Cities and Boroughs Education Bill on behalf of Lord Aberdeen's ministry on April 7. One part of this extensive measure was designed to extend the existing policy of government grants to public day schools by empowering the borough councils to levy a rate. Education was not to be made free to the poor, but 2 d. per week from the funds thus raised was to be paid for each pupil in this class of schools. Aid would continue to be limited to those eligible for government grants, allocation of local taxes was to be administered by a School Committee appointed by the borough councils, and a "conscience clause" was to be mandatory. Power to levy the municipal rate did not apply to rural areas. Here, government grants were to be increased in proportion to the number of children who could be expected to attend the elementary schools, and to the amount of accommodation required.⁶⁴

Milner-Gibson, on the part of the Select Committee, protested against Russell's Bill when the second investigation into the conditions of education was still to be completed. On April 12 S. Peto moved "that it was useless to continue with the evidence in view of the governments' action."⁶⁵ After a lengthy discussion the Committee decided to continue, and Watts was called to give evidence the next day.

Watts exhibited all the assurance of one who had become a success through his own efforts. Not only had he been educated in one of the Mechanics' Institutes but he had also been a teacher in the public

day schools during his early career. Because of his background, and his connections with the National Public School Association neither the Voluntaryists, the Denominationalists, nor the latest government policy in education escaped his criticism.⁶⁶ The voluntary system was a failure because "the educational want is constant, regular, and progressive" while voluntary help is "inconstant, irregular, and retrogressive."⁶⁷ Increased Sunday school attendance proved only one thing, that children will attend school if it is free. The Denominationalists' error lay in attempting to maintain the connections between the church and the school when the Census of 1851 had shown that the majority of the lower classes did not belong to any church. Considering these circumstances, to tax them for the teaching of religious doctrines would be totally unfair.⁶⁸ Russell's Education Bill would meet opposition in the Commons from the combined forces of the National Public School Association, the Manchester and Salford group, and the Voluntaryists. In Watt's opinion, the entire agitation for national education was based on the three principles of local rates, local government, and liberty of conscience. Any system which depended on the town council was undemocratic. Since the qualifications of owning £1000 property or living in a house rated at £30 excluded the majority of the people from membership, rate-aid controlled by the council would meet with general disfavour.⁶⁹ This disapproval would apply equally to the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. In addition Watts termed it "a kind of an exclusion bill." On the one hand, those who objected to rate-supported religion, those who advocated secular education, all Roman Catholics, and all Jews would be excluded from taking advantage of any benefits offered; on the other, all would be expected to pay the rates.⁷⁰

So wide was the difference of opinion expressed by the witnesses

that the Select Committee found itself unable to reach any decision on the provisions that should be made for education in the two boroughs. Despite the fact that the combined sittings of the two Committees had lasted for more than six months, and that more than 1000 pages of testimony had been recorded, no recommendations were sent to the Commons. S. Peto moved on May 26 that "the evidence be reported without any opinion thereon." This motion was passed and on June 6 the Select Committee was dismissed.⁷¹

Meanwhile opposition to Lord John Russell's Bill grew in Manchester. On May 11 a sub-committee of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee under the direction of Entwistle published the following four objections to the government measure: no provision was made to supply schools in destitute areas, no guarantee was offered to ensure that children could claim admission to the nearest rate-aided school, rate-aid was compatible only with free education, and no protection was afforded for management from parental interference on religious grounds. The National Public School Association in its turn sent a delegation to present its objection to Lord John Russell on June 3.⁷²

Since such active opposition on the part of the two great educational parties in Manchester promised a greater degree of opposition in the Commons, the government Bill was never brought back for second reading. By the same token, Russell's failure did not augur well for the success of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. If he saw no hope of success for rate-aid on a supplementary basis, the corollary would seem to be that the even wider measure of rate-aid to supply free education had even less chance of meeting with approval.

In spite of this warning, and the failure of the Select Committee to offer any recommendations, the Manchester and Salford Education

Committee once again arranged to have the Bill read the second time on February 21, 1854, scarcely a month before the beginning of hostilities in the Crimea. This time the motion for second reading was made by Charles Adderley, Member of Parliament for North Staffordshire; a circumstance that did not go unnoticed by Milner-Gibson who observed that no member of Manchester or Salford would accept further responsibility for the measure.⁷³ Once again he prevented the motion from proceeding to a vote by moving an amendment which would prohibit legislation for rate-aid to public education by means of a private bill.⁷⁴ And once again all the arguments which had been presented at public meetings, in the Select Committee, and in the Commons were repeated. To the denunciations of the Bill by Hume, Fox, and Bright for the Secularists, and by Peto and Edward Miall⁷⁵ for the Voluntaryists, were added those of Earl Granville, President of the Council, and Lord John Russell for the government. Walpole, former Home Secretary in Derby's ministry, reiterated the objections to the principles involved which he had outlined in 1852. The able defence by Sir John Pakington,⁷⁶ Wilson Patten, and Joseph Brotherton failed to turn the tide of opposition. After a debate which lasted until midnight, Milner-Gibson's amendment was carried by a vote of 76 to 105.⁷⁷ The motion for second reading had failed for the third time.

The controversy which revolved around the principle of rate-aid for denominational schools made the fate of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill certain. Milner-Gibson, in a later speech in the Commons in 1855, maintained that only the union of the National Public School Association and the Manchester and Salford Education Committee, combined with the support of the Town Council, responsible

for the levying and collecting of the rates, could have ensured victory. In view of the stand taken by the latter group, he, as a representative for Manchester, had no alternative but to oppose the Bill.⁷⁸

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, in turn, also attributed the failure of the Bill to the problem of rate-aid. In his testimony before the Newcastle Commission on January 26, 1860 he admitted that he had held little hope for the success of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. The basic question involved was "whether education was to be regarded as a political duty devolving on the civil community and to be charged on it by the municipalities." Municipalities did not object to paying for services which they controlled and directed. Government grants to schools were accepted in most cases since such money was raised by a charge on £550,000,000 of property. Matters were viewed in a different light when 6d. in the pound was to be levied on rateable property valued at £80,000,000 in the municipalities.⁷⁹ The authority granted to the municipalities in the Bill was very limited, in Shuttleworth's opinion. In this fault he saw, as had Milner-Gibson, the chief cause of the failure of a measure which had seemed to give much promise in solving the problem of providing education for the poor. Results had shown that the country was not yet ready in 1854 to accept a scheme of "partial rating in aid of denominational schools."⁸⁰

In Manchester, however, members of the Committee refused to accept their defeat as final. Although the Manchester and Salford battle was lost, within a year they were once again ready to take up the cause of the denominational schools.

CHAPTER VI

THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONTROVERSY

The Voluntaryists, the Secularists and the Denominationalists of Manchester and Salford all professed to have the same goal, that of supplying educational opportunities for the thousands of children who were not attending school. That the achievement of this goal was no nearer in 1854 than it had been in 1849 was believed to be the result of the controversy which divided the three parties. Although the Manchester and Salford Education Committee did not manage to effect the compromise which it had promised, its attempts were not without significance. Not only had serious doubt been raised concerning the ability of the Voluntaryists to offer a solution to the problem of providing education for the poor, but also the threat posed by the Secularists to the existing schools had been checked. Further, the position and strength of the different parties had been defined and assessed, and information gathered which would prove useful in devising future legislation. The complexity of the problem had been clearly outlined, and the issues involved were made apparent to all who were interested in education.

But the wider significance of the Bill lay in the influence it was to have on subsequent events. Because of the contest between those who supported the plan of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee and those who defended the secular scheme of the National Public School Association between 1849 and 1854, Manchester became the centre of

educational reform, a position which was not to be challenged until the National League was organized in Birmingham in 1869. Five of the six bills dealing with elementary education which were introduced in the Commons between 1855 and 1869 were originated by the educational organizations of Manchester.¹ Four of the five proposals were patterned after the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. As it provided a model for future legislation, so Richson's policy of reconciling the different parties through compromise and unity of purpose was to be emulated in the unceasing search for a solution to the problem of the education of the poor.

However, for the remainder of 1854 there was little activity on the part of the Secularists or the Denominationalists. The National Public School Association once again amended the Free Schools Bill by the addition of a clause which would permit school districts to decide whether or not they wished to accept the scheme. Milner-Gibson, Cobden, and Bright discouraged the Association from making any further attempts to promote the Bill in view of Parliament's preoccupation with the Crimean War. A similar assessment of the times was made by the Manchester and Salford Education Committee which also declined to take any new steps to promote its measure. In the first report after the defeat of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill, the treasurer stated that more than £5000 had been spent with little progress having been made. Certainly the subscriptions which had been raised at the beginning of the venture must have been seriously depleted. Lack of funds, as well as the war, may have contributed to the decision to abandon the plans for any further legislation in 1854.²

Interest in national education was renewed in 1855 when the

Commons was asked to consider five bills, two for Scotland and three for England and Wales. Of the latter, one was introduced by Lord John Russell for Lord Aberdeen's ministry, one by Sir John Pakington in cooperation with the Manchester and Salford Education Committee, and the third by Milner-Gibson on behalf of the National Public School Association. Each of these measures was a revision of a previous bill with changes designed to meet criticisms which had been directed against the Manchester and Salford scheme.

The basic principles of Russell's Cities and Borough's Bill of 1853 reappeared in his Promotion of Education Bill with two exceptions.³ A clause was added to allow the exemption of Roman Catholic and Jewish children from the reading of the Holy Scriptures in schools built from municipal rates. A second clause provided for the extension of the scheme to include parishes as well as cities and boroughs. One clause was obviously designed to answer the charge directed against the Manchester and Salford Bill that all religious denominations could not take advantage of the schools they were called upon to support; the other, that a scheme which did not include rural as well as urban areas was too limited in scope.

The second measure of 1855, A Bill for the Better Encouragement and Promotion of Education, was brought in by Pakington, Adderley⁴ and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton on March 16.⁵ This proposed scheme was the Manchester and Salford Education Bill amended to remove two grounds of criticism, that it was limited to two boroughs only and that the administrative basis was undemocratic. In view of these charges which had been made much of by the Secularists, the plan was expanded to include all boroughs, parochial divisions, and parishes which levied their own

poor rates. Those who paid the local rates were given a greater voice in the operation of the scheme. The ratepayers were granted the right to decide by a vote whether or not their area would take part in the new system. In addition, they were to elect the School Committees, a duty which had been formerly assigned to the town councils. Eligibility for a position on the Committees was still rather limited, for only those who owned property assessed at £30 could be nominated. Magistrates and Justices of the Peace were to act as *ex officio* members. The remainder of Pakington's Bill was almost an exact copy of that from Manchester.

On March 29 Milner-Gibson and Cobden once again brought forward the Free Schools Bill, the last time the Secularists were to introduce their proposal for national education in the Commons.⁶ The permissive clause decided upon by the National Public School Association in 1854, and the provision of a separate time for religious instruction were both included in the Bill. According to the first clause, the majority of ratepayers in a district might postpone the operation of the Act by appealing to the Education Board for a stay in proceedings. The Queen's "Principal Secretary of State" and a president whom she would appoint were the two members of this board. Existing denominational schools might apply to become "free schools" under their present management and to receive aid from the rates on the condition that no instruction in doctrinal religion was given "between the hours of nine and eleven in the morning and two and four in the afternoon."⁷ In the new schools which would be built under the terms of the Act, certain hours were to be set in each week when the schools were to be closed to allow the children to attend religious instruction if they chose.⁸ By means of

these changes in their original plan for universal, free, and secular education, the National Public School Association hoped to allay any apprehensions which were entertained for the security of the denominational schools and religious teaching.

These amendments failed to make any of the bills more acceptable to members of the Commons. Sir John Pakington's Bill aroused the most interest and it was discussed on three different occasions.⁹ Once again opposition to rate-aid, religious teaching, and government interference showed that none of the measures could succeed and all three were withdrawn on July 2.¹⁰

Meanwhile in Manchester continued efforts by the Manchester and Salford Education Committee to arrive at a compromise with the National Public School Association showed that little hope was held for the success of the bills. Cobden, McKerrow, and Richson met a number of times in January in an attempt to work out a new programme. On February 6 McKerrow reported to the Association that Richson had agreed to a "time table conscience" clause and to rate-aid to secular schools. The decision of the Secularists to work toward union with the Denominationalists to present petitions to Parliament in favour of a new elementary education bill was announced on April 3.¹¹ Two weeks later the Manchester and Salford Education Committee was dissolved and consequently ceased to act as the official representative of the Denominationalists. As Entwisle explained in a letter to Alexander Henry, chairman of the National Public School Association, the one purpose of the organization had been to promote a scheme of elementary education for Manchester and Salford.¹² Circumstances had shown that such a limited programme no longer had any chance of success, and the work of the Committee was ended.

This step did not mean that the Denominationalists were to take no further interest in the problem of the education of the poor. Their objective remained the same, to find a common ground of agreement so that all parties could work together to devise a system of schools, but any scheme devised was now to apply to all England and Wales rather than the two boroughs.

In January of 1856, meetings between the two groups were resumed and plans for a new bill were once again considered. Richson, whose devotion to the cause of education seemed indefatigable, for the fourth time assumed the responsibility of outlining the main principles of a measure which he published as "Marginal Notes of an Educational Bill" in March. There was one important difference between this venture and others which he had originated. Rather than free schooling for all the children of the poor, two in every hundred of population were to be assigned free places in the existing institutions. Fees and all other expenses were to be paid from a borough rate which was "not to exceed £2 on every hundred of population." This rather unusual plan was dropped when the National Public School Association, who believed that the conscience clause and aid to secular schools was inadequate, declined to give their support.¹³

Nothing more was done until Cobden took the initiative in the fall of 1856. In November he wrote to Sir John Pakington, who had worked closely with the Manchester and Salford Committee, in an effort to gain his help in another attempt to unite the two parties. The result was a resumption of the meetings between the Secularists and the Denominationalists in November and December. Agreement was reached on such a wide range of points that Pakington observed in a letter to

McKerrow that "the wishes of your united parties in Manchester (unless a strong opposing demonstration is made there) must have great weight with the House of Commons."¹⁴

The union which Richson had hoped for in 1850 was to become a reality in 1857. Representatives of the two parties appeared together for the first time at a great meeting held in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester on February 6. William Entwisle, Canon Richson and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the principal speakers for the Denominationalists, all praised Richard Cobden and Sir John Pakington for their contributions to bringing about this union. Kay-Shuttleworth concluded his speech with the observation that while he was not particularly optimistic that immediate results would automatically follow this "harmonious combination," the efforts of Manchester would prove valuable in the future. Dr. McKerrow declined the opportunity afforded him to speak to allow Pakington more time to present his views on a bill which was being prepared for the next session of Parliament.

The union of two parties that had been antagonists for ten years was not the only significance of this meeting. The National Public School Association had ended its active career on January 20 with the resignation of the president, Alexander Henry, and the secretary, R. W. Smiles.¹⁵ After the conference in February, many of the Association's former members joined with those of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee to form a new organization, the General Committee on Education. Smiles was appointed secretary while Bazley, Entwisle, McKerrow, and Richson were members of the subcommittee along with men who represented all denominations.¹⁶

After the Committee finished preparing the Bill it was introduced

in the Commons by Pakington, Cobden, Headlam, and Lord Stanley on February 18. Once again the Manchester and Salford Education Bill had provided the basic model although important concessions were made to meet Secularist opinion. Termed "A Bill to Promote Education in Corporate Cities and Boroughs in England and Wales,"¹⁷ it was a measure designed not to supply free education but to aid from a municipal rate the poorest schools which were defined as "those which charged not less than one penny nor more than fourpence per week."¹⁸ No provision was made for building new schools. In concurrence with the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the Secularists and Denominationalists in December,¹⁹ the School Committee was to be elected by the ratepayers and a timetable conscience clause was to be "openly exposed in the said school."²⁰ Parents were to have the choice of the school which they wished their child to attend as an additional safeguard for religious liberty.²¹

Great care had obviously been taken by the General Committee on Education to conciliate all those who opposed a national system of education based on rate-aid. To the charge that such a system would prove too costly, not free schooling but partial aid was offered; to the charge that too great power would be concentrated in the central government, locally elected School Committees were proposed; and to the charge that religious liberty would be endangered, a timetable conscience clause promised additional security. Despite the sincere endeavours on the part of those who formulated the Bill to present an acceptable compromise, it met no better reception in the Commons than its five predecessors. After the debate on the second reading was twice postponed, Pakington and Cobden realized that further action was

useless.²² That Pakington had little hope for success was made clear almost a year later when he made the following observation in the Commons:

I think it is perfectly clear that H. M. Government [Derby's] is not disposed to legislate on this question. I think they ought to do so; but I speak in no spirit of censure, for I do not believe that if they were to be succeeded by any other Government, that other Government, as the question stands at present, would be disposed to legislate upon it.²³

The Denominationalists of Manchester had based their hopes on a union of those of different faiths to promote a bill to improve elementary education. They had attributed their failure in part to opposition by the Secularists. In 1857 the cooperation of the latter had been attained but events had shown that opposition from other quarters in the House of Commons was still too powerful. The General Committee on Education in Manchester accepted Pakington's decision that further promotion of the Cities and Boroughs Bill would be to no avail, and the organization was dissolved.²⁴ Ten years were to pass before any legislation was brought in the Commons in the interests of the education of the poor. The many trials and failures, however, had demonstrated that unless the government was willing to lend its support to private organizations progress was impossible. None of the administrations which had held office between 1850 and 1858 had shown a genuine interest in replacing the denominational and voluntary schools with a state supported system, and bills which advocated this step failed.²⁵

Consequently, attention was turned for the next three years to a closer examination of the existing educational policy of the government as it had been implemented by the Committee of Council.²⁶ That those who were interested in the schools for the poor were freed from preparing and petitioning for new legislation was one reason for this interest; a second was concern in Parliament over the rise in expenditure

as a result of the Crimean War. With the announcement that this amounted to £78,000,000 there were demands from all sides for economy.²⁷ With Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer all accounts were subjected to close scrutiny, and the rise in grants to the schools from £150,000 in 1851 to £541,223 in 1857 was viewed with particular alarm.²⁸

Paradoxically, Pakington who had shown such a keen interest in improving elementary education for the poor was to originate a motion which would interrupt any progress that was being made. On February 11, 1858 he suggested in the Commons that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of education in England and Wales, to consider whether the present system was sufficient for its object, and to recommend changes that were required for the extension of "sound and cheap elementary education" to all classes of the people.²⁹

The words of Pakington's motion formed the terms of reference for the Newcastle Commission which was assigned the task of carrying out the investigation ordered by Derby's ministry.³⁰ After a long and detailed study of all phases of education, the Commission presented its report on March 18, 1861.

The key notes were "sound" and "cheap." Of the many recommendations only those dealing with government grants were incorporated into the *Revised Code* outlined by Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the Committee of Council. Grants to training colleges, teachers, and pupil-teachers were drastically reduced while payments to elementary schools were made in proportion to the regularity of each pupil's attendance and his success in passing examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic.³¹ As an economy measure the *Revised Code* was a success for the amount of the grants declined from £873,441 in 1861 to £636,810 by 1865. At the

same time, there was an accompanying deterioration in the quality of instruction offered in the schools. Neither did the terms of the code encourage the increase in the supply of buildings where they were needed the most. Thus for the government policy of responsibility for education adopted in 1846 was substituted one of aid to the existing elementary schools which were able to meet the conditions necessary to qualify for grants.³²

Certainly the *Revised Code* had an adverse effect on education throughout England and Wales, but the reduction in the grants was perhaps more keenly felt in Manchester which was experiencing a period of business depression caused by the "cotton famine." Unemployment and hardship was the lot of the majority of the working classes while the Civil War lasted in the United States. Conditions in the city gave rise to a new organization, the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society.³³ Founded by Edward Brotherton³⁴ who attributed the suffering of the poor to the lack of education as much as to economic conditions, the Society was soon joined by many other wealthy manufacturers.³⁵

The work of these men had great significance. In the first place, the idea originally expressed by Richson, that only by means of a union of all parties could any progress be made in solving the problem of education, was revived. Adherents of all denominations joined the new association, but the most active were those who had been former members of the National Public School Association and the Manchester and Salford Education Committee.³⁶ Secondly, the Society proposed a new test of the voluntary system. If the problem could not be solved by the unified efforts of all denominations, then obviously the principle of providing schools through charitable contributions must be pronounced a failure.

Perhaps the most important result of the work of the Manchester Education Aid Society was the challenge its findings offered to accepted ideas in education, and its work in originating a new organization which was once again to attempt to solve the problem by legislative methods.³⁷

Reports issued at the end of each of the first three years of the Society's activity illustrate the progress made and the difficulties that were encountered. At the end of 1864 the Secretary noted that 103 schools, or nine out of ten of the total in Manchester and Salford had received financial assistance, while fees had been paid for almost 5,000 scholars. The chief value of the Society, however, lay in the fact that it had gained the confidence of all denominations. Expenditure for the year was given as £2,000, but hope was expressed that the condition of the uneducated masses of the two towns could be alleviated through the continued efforts of the Society. The second report was less optimistic, for only two-fifths of the neglected children had been brought into school, and the income of the Society was less than its expenditure. The results of several investigations were included in this record. The most important was that a very large number of parents failed to send their children to school even though they were not too poor to pay the fees. From its experience during 1865 the Committee decided that "no private or voluntary effort can reach the depths of this evil in the social constitution and that further legislation is urgently needed. . . ."³⁸ Continued attempts to cope with the problem led the Education Aid Society to declare that "it is impossible to persuade the parents to accept the gift of education" and that when "the Committee began operations they were totally unprepared for such

a result."³⁹

The Society's experience during the past three years led it to present the following conclusions to the National Association for the Progress of Social Science which was holding its annual meeting in Manchester in October, 1866:

1. Nothing less than some system of compulsory school attendance can effectually grapple with the difficulty of non-attendance caused by the apathy and indifference of a large portion of the parents.
2. If State compulsion is introduced, education must be free.
3. If free education is provided, then a compulsory local rate must be levied.⁴⁰

For the first time compulsory education by the state had been openly recommended by a group not entirely composed of Radicals, a recommendation which was referred to by H. A. Bruce⁴¹ as "the thunderclap from Manchester."⁴²

Because of the interest which had been aroused, the Society⁴³ called a public meeting in the Manchester Town Hall on December 6, 1866 to discuss the advisability of renewing attempts to bring about educational reform through legislation. Those who were present were in general agreement that the times were more propitious, and the following resolution was passed:

That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to make complete provision for the primary instruction of the children of the poorer classes by means of a local rate, under local administration, with legal power, in cases of neglect, to enforce attendance at school.⁴⁴

A committee was appointed to prepare and promote a bill. Many former members of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee, the National Public School Association, the General Committee on Education, the more recent Manchester Education Aid Society were chosen, and together they drew up the Education of the Poorer Classes Bill.⁴⁵

The measure was brought into the Commons on April 5, 1867 by H. A. Bruce, W. E. Forster and A. Egerton.⁴⁶ Like the Manchester and Salford Bill which had clearly provided the model for this new legislative attempt, aid from the rates was to be granted to denominational schools, new schools were to be built where required from municipal taxes, and a conscience clause was compulsory in all institutions accepting rate-aid.⁴⁷ Unlike the old Bill ratepayers were not only to be permitted to elect the School Committee but were also eligible to act as members of this group without further property qualifications. Education was to be free only in schools built from the rates.⁴⁸ Boroughs and parishes in England and Wales could decide whether or not they wished to adopt the scheme. No mention was made of compulsory education in spite of the resolution of the Manchester Education Aid Society and its close relationship with the Manchester Education Bill Committee which prepared the Bill. However, arrangements had been made for Thomas Bazley to introduce such a clause should the committee stage be reached. The opportunity did not arise since Bruce and Forster withdrew the measure after an adjourned second reading.⁴⁹ This was not considered a final defeat but rather as an opportunity to revise certain clauses in anticipation of a renewed attempt in the session of 1868.

Two subsequent events exerted a profound influence on any future legislation dealing with the education of the poor. On August 15, the Second Reform Bill with its provision for the extension of the franchise was passed and a new urgency was lent to the problem. Nevertheless the rejection of Lord John Russell's four resolutions advocating increased government responsibility showed clearly that Derby had little intention of disturbing the voluntary and denominational system.⁵⁰

Only public demand or a change in administration seemed to offer any hope that educational legislation would succeed. That no government could maintain a policy of defending the *status quo* in education was made clear by the Voluntaryists. At a conference of the Congregational Union held in Manchester on October 11 Edward Baines announced that in the future those who had hitherto stuck rigidly to Voluntaryist principles would accept state aid for education. The Second Reform Act provided both the excuse and the justification for this decision. He explained that the extended franchise implied an increase in demand for education, a demand which could be met only from the greater resources of the state. He argued further that with the more popular basis of the government one of the principal objections that the Voluntaryists held against state interference in education would be removed. The party which he represented had therefore decided that aid out of taxes could be accepted for secular education. In conclusion, he stated that because of this new policy he intended to support the recent Bill promoted by the Manchester Education Aid Society and introduced by Bruce.⁵¹ Had Richard Cobden still been living he would have regarded the conversion of Baines as a truly remarkable occurrence.⁵²

With one of the leading opponents of government aid to elementary education silenced, and with the belief that Disraeli would soon replace the ailing Derby as Prime Minister, the success of the Bill seemed more probable in the session of 1868. Consequently, the Manchester Education Bill Committee called a conference in Manchester for January 15 and 16 to discuss revisions which should be made in the original measure. There was again a large attendance by men from Manchester and Salford as well as from South Lancashire.⁵³ Once again

Bruce was president of the meeting and Forster was one of the leading speakers. After much debate, the members of the Conference voted in favour of the compulsory provision of schools where required and for the compulsory adoption of the terms of the Bill by all regions in England and Wales. There was also general approval expressed for compulsory attendance but this clause was not to be added until the committee stage was reached, a procedure which had been adopted in relation to the Education of the Poorer Classes Bill in 1867.⁵⁴

Long years of experience had taught the men of Manchester that ideas which were approved in their city were often too radical to meet acceptance in the Commons. As a result the Elementary Education Bill which was introduced by Bruce, Forster, and Egerton on March 17 was in principle very like the one promoted by the Manchester Education Bill Committee the previous year. The approval of the Commons was once again sought for rate-aid to existing denominational schools, a compulsory conscience clause, and provision of schools in destitute areas. One major difference lay in the addition of a clause which would allow one-tenth of the electors in any district to apply for a compulsory order when the existence of educational destitution had been proved by a formal inquiry carried out by the Committee of Council. Fees in schools aided by grants were to be regulated according to a sliding scale but education was to be free in those built from the rates.⁵⁵

On March 22 the government represented by the Duke of Marlborough, Lord President of the Privy Council, also introduced an education bill in the House of Lords.⁵⁶ Both this measure and that of the Manchester Education Bill Committee were withdrawn since the fall of Disraeli's administration was believed to be imminent.⁵⁷

The first general election based on the new franchise was held in November and the Liberals with Gladstone as Prime Minister formed the new government. Forster who had worked so closely with the Committee was appointed Vice-President of the Education Department while his friend, Lord Ripon, became Lord President of the Privy Council. Bruce assumed the duties of Home Secretary. Because of these appointments, the Committee took no further action to promote the Elementary Education Bill in anticipation of the more general government scheme which Forster was expected to bring in.⁵⁸

Meanwhile two powerful educational organizations were developing which were to challenge Manchester's claim to leadership in the field of education. The first, the National Education League, began organizing early in 1869 and was formally inaugurated at a meeting held in Birmingham on October 12. The League's policy was a revival of the Lancaster Public School Association's demand for universal, free, and unsectarian education with the addition of compulsion which had never been openly advocated by the original Secularists. To promote its programme, the League sought the support of the Manchester Education Bill Committee. In November, 1869, George Dixon, Member of Parliament for Birmingham and chairman of the new organization, wrote to Francis Taylor urging the union of the two parties. Taylor declined the offer and pointed out that experience had shown those in Manchester who had worked for so long in the cause of education that the secular system had no chance of success. Although Dixon continued the correspondence in an effort to obtain the cooperation of those who had been recognized for many years as leaders in educational thought, Taylor remained adamant.⁵⁹ The Committee would agree with the demands of the League for

compulsory provision of schools, local rates, local management, and compulsory attendance. It remained firmly committed, however, to its policy of "the adequate extension and development of the existing system to national requirements" and refused to concede that schools should be either free or unsectarian.⁶⁰ Negotiations broke down between Dixon and Taylor, and the Manchester group remained a separate organization.

As the Committee had considered the policy of the National League as radical and unrealistic, so it regarded that of the National Union as too conservative. Formally established at a meeting in Manchester on November 3 and 4 of "the known and long-tried friends of religious education drawn from all parts of the country,"⁶¹ the Union used this city as its headquarters. However, Manchester was in no sense the originator of the movement or the centre of its power as it had been for the National Public School Association or the Manchester and Salford Education Committee. The policy of the Union was outlined in the following four objectives:

1. To secure the primary education of every child on the principles of morality and religion, by initiating the proceedings for the election of School Boards.
2. To counteract the efforts of the Birmingham League and others advocating secular instruction only and the secularization of our National Institutions.
3. To watch over and protect the interest of existing and future voluntary National Schools and to thwart the attempts of those who have threatened continued action against the Annual Parliamentary Grant to existing Denominational Schools.
4. To secure the return as Members of Parliament of those who are friends of Religious Education, the maintenance of the Bible, and definite religious teaching.⁶²

No suggestions were made for the institution of new schools. School fees were to be paid by the parents. The only charge for fees to be levied on the rates was for pauper and vagrant children for whom education was to be made compulsory. All children who sought paid employment

would be required to possess a certificate of school attendance. Recommendations were made for the extension of the half-time system of the Factory Acts to include rural as well as urban areas.⁶³

In the two organizations, the National League and the National Union, the Manchester Education Aid Society and the Manchester Education Bill Committee saw the return of the old sectarian quarrels of the Secularists and Denominationalists of twenty years ago. Those who were members of the two societies of Manchester regarded the new programmes as the antithesis of progress; consequently, they hoped to find in Forster's Bill the idea of unity which they had so diligently espoused.

Nor was the Manchester Education Committee disappointed. When Forster and Bruce brought in the Elementary Education Bill⁶⁴ on February 17, 1870, the scheme which was proposed clearly reflected the influence of previous measures which had originated in Manchester.

Like that of the Manchester and Salford Bill, the object was to provide good schools and to induce parents to send their children to them. The existing system of voluntary and denominational schools was to be maintained but the government planned to supplement this system by ensuring that schools were built where they were needed. To determine where such assistance was required England and Wales were to be divided into school districts. If accommodation was found to be adequate, no further action would be taken. In areas where there was a deficiency, this deficiency would be advertised and voluntary agencies would be allowed a period of one year to remedy the situation.⁶⁵ Should no offers be received in the allotted time, then the Education Department⁶⁶ could order the election of a school board by the town council of a borough or by the vestry of a parish. The school board was then responsible for

the construction and management of additional or new accommodation.⁶⁷

In agreement with the Bills of 1857, 1867, and 1868 free education was to be the exception rather than the rule. The majority of the pupils was expected to pay a weekly fee determined by the school board. Only in cases of proven poverty would the board accept responsibility for educating a child.⁶⁸ Although parents of these children could not pay the fees, they still were to be allowed to choose the school which their child would attend.⁶⁹ School boards, if they saw fit, could grant assistance to voluntary elementary schools in their district provided such assistance was given on equal terms to all denominations.⁷⁰ Although the Manchester Education Aid Society and the Manchester Education Bill Committee had recommended compulsory education, such a clause was included for the first time in Forster's Bill. Whether or not children should be compelled to attend school was left to the discretion of the school board of each district.⁷¹

Necessary funds to aid and provide schools were to be raised from fees, municipal rates, and government grants. The boards were given the power to demand the required amount from the local rating authority, and were granted the power to levy a rate if the latter refused its co-operation. Municipal school rates were not to exceed 3d in the pound.⁷² Both board schools and denominational schools which met the standards set by the Education Department were eligible for grants from the government. That schools must be in connection with some religious denomination, or that religious instruction must be given, was no longer to be a condition for receiving the grants;⁷³ a clause which was borrowed from the resolutions passed at the meeting of the General Committee on Education in Manchester in 1857.⁷⁴

The right of the parent to choose the school he wished his child to attend was one guarantee of religious liberty included in Forster's Bill. A second was the inclusion of a conscience clause almost identical with that of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill which stated that no child should be required to learn any distinctive creed, catechism or formulary should his parents signify their disapproval in writing. Religious instruction was to be inspected in the schools only by special request of the managers.⁷⁵ The resolution of the General Committee on Education had outlined a similar condition of inspection.⁷⁶

The Elementary Education Bill failed to please either the secularists of the National League or the denominationalists of the National Union. As might be expected it met with a better reception from the Manchester Education Bill Committee which decided at its final meeting of March 3 to withdraw the two bills that were to be introduced in 1870, and to support Forster's measure.⁷⁷ However, this was not to imply that the Committee accepted the Bill in its entirety, for two objections were registered which are of particular interest. First, the wisdom of leaving the determination of the religious character of the schools built from the rates to the school boards was questioned. Secondly, the members of the Committee reaffirmed their position on religious education, and maintained that "no religious catechism or formularies should be used in such schools, nor should anything in support of, or in opposition to, the peculiar tenets of any religious sect be taught therein, provided that this shall not be held to exclude the reading of the Holy Scriptures in such schools."⁷⁸ The first part of this resolution was later to be proposed and accepted as an amendment of Forster's Bill by W. F. Cowper-Temple.

The success of Forster's Bill in its original form would have marked the triumph after more than twenty years of Richson's belief in a settlement through compromise among the diverse sects and factions. Five times the idea had been embodied in a bill and brought before the Commons, and five times it had been rejected only to be taken up again by men from Manchester. Powerful opposition was to compel Forster to change much of his measure, and in its accepted form it marked the partial defeat of Richson's idea. The Secularists directed their attacks against the year's grace allowed to voluntary institutions, the absence of universal school boards, the undemocratic method of election of the school boards that was provided, the limited compulsory education, the ineffective conscience clause, and rate-aid to denominational schools.⁷⁹ Anglicans and Roman Catholics, on the other hand, objected to the compulsory conscience clause and the provision which would allow managers to transfer their schools to the newly created boards.⁸⁰ The result was that the old idea of unity through compromise broke down and the dual system of education in England and Wales was born.

The Elementary Education Bill as amended in Committee⁸¹ and brought in on June 16 was changed principally in provisions for religious instruction in the schools, but these changes were still in agreement with suggestions made either by the General Committee on Education or the Manchester Education Bill Committee. A "time-table conscience clause" was added and inspectors were no longer required to examine religious instruction in the denominational schools; while the Cowper-Temple amendment excluded the teaching of religious catechisms and formularies in the board schools.⁸² The implication of the last change was that the local boards, if they wished, could give undenominational

religious instruction in schools or run them as secular institutions.

Nevertheless, continued opposition to rate-aid to the denominational schools, to the terms of their possible transfer to the school boards, and to the provisions for the election of members of this Board led Forster to propose further amendments. The Elementary Education Bill was revised for a second time⁸³ with new clauses added to meet these objections. Town councils in the boroughs were still to hold the responsibility of choosing members of the school boards but fewer than one-third could be selected from among their own group. In the parishes the duty of electing the member was transferred from the vestry to the ratepayers.⁸⁴ Further provisions were added to prevent irresponsible transference of the voluntary schools to the jurisdiction of the school boards.⁸⁵ But the greatest change was the exclusion of the denominational schools from financial aid from the rates. To compensate for the loss of revenue, government grants were to be raised to fifty per cent of the cost of maintenance.⁸⁶

The Bill in the amended form was passed by the Lords on August 3 and six days later was entered on the statute books.⁸⁷ The dual system of elementary education was established by law in England and Wales.

In spite of the fact that separate board schools and denominational schools did not conform to the scheme envisioned by the men of Manchester, still many principles they had advocated for more than twenty years had become a reality. In the future, there was no longer an acceptable excuse for children of the poor growing up in ignorance. Schools under local management supported by local rates and government grants were to be provided throughout the country. Poverty and the

threat to religious liberty ceased to be valid reasons for failure to obtain an education. These were results which could be viewed with satisfaction.⁸⁸

That those in Manchester who had worked so diligently in the cause of education continued to take an active part is shown in the list of members of the first school board.⁸⁹ Once again the names of Dr. McKerrow and Dr. John Watts of the National Public School Association appear with those of Robert Gladstone and Oliver Heywood of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee, and recorded with these men are "other influential persons of almost every variety of religious persuasion."⁹⁰ Although the path was different from the one he had anticipated, Richson's dream had been fulfilled. The denominational schools had weathered the storm.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

¹Great Britain, Parliament, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*. 3d. ser., XX (1833), 139.

²John William Adamson, *English Education 1789-1902* (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), 32-33.

³*Ibid.*, viii.

⁴Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1852-1853, XC, "Census of Great Britain, 1851. *Education England and Wales*," 44. National elementary education implied the establishment of public day schools for children whose parents could afford to pay a small weekly fee. Horace Mann, in his report on the census defines *public day schools* as those deriving part of their income from sources other than pupils' fees. He divided these schools into four categories:

- a. Those supported by general or local taxation. Schools of this type included military and naval institutions, and those run in conjunction with workhouses and prisons.
- b. Those supported by endowments.
- c. Those operated by religious bodies.
- d. Special schools for the handicapped.

Private schools are those supported entirely by fees from pupils. This paper is concerned with public day schools supported by religious bodies. See also Appendix XXII (A), *Extract from Census of Gt. Britain*.

⁵*Ibid.*, 18.

⁶Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1852-1853, LXXXIX, "Census of Great Britain, 1851. *Religious Worship*," 28.

⁷Adamson, *English Education*, 9.

⁸*Ibid.*, 1-3.

⁹Frank Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902* (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1931), 49-50.

¹⁰Henry James Burgess, *Enterprise in Education* (London: National Society, 1958), 13.

¹¹Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960), 63-65.

¹²Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, 12-13.

¹³Adamson, *English Education*, 24. Adamson contends that the provision of elementary instruction on the national scale was due to the great popularity of this system but that its origin was much older than either Lancaster or Bell.

¹⁴Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, 23.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁶Great Britain, Parliament, *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*. 1st. ser., IX (1807), 798.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 1178.

¹⁸Simon, *History of Education*, 132-133.

¹⁹*Ibid.* Simon identifies Brougham as a liberal Whig who worked closely with the Radicals in the British and Foreign School Society and who gave at this stage Parliamentary expression to Radical educational policy.

²⁰Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, 19.

²¹Norman Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics 1832-1852* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 63.

²²Adamson, *English Education*, 34.

²³Asa Briggs, *Chartist Studies* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1959), 379-382.

²⁴Adamson, *English Education*, 124. There is some disagreement over the constitution of the Committee of Council on Education. The Reverend Charles Richson lists the four members named but to this he added the First Lord of the Treasury and three other members of the Cabinet. *The Scheme of Secular Education*, 73.

²⁵*Ibid.* When he was appointed to the position of Secretary Dr. James Phillips Kay had not yet changed his name to James Kay-Shuttleworth. This change took place in 1842 on the occasion of his marriage.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 124-125.

²⁷Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction*, 71-76.

²⁸Frank Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth* (London: John Murray, 1933), 84.

²⁹Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, 78 and 87. The Church opposed inspection on two grounds: first, the implication that instruction could be separated into two parts, religious and secular; and

secondly to the encroachment of the state in the field of education.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 79.

³¹*Parl. Debates*, LXVII (1843), 422, 1421-1423.

³²*Ibid.*, 1430.

³³S. Maccoby, *English Radicalism, 1832-1852* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1935), 246.

³⁴Smith, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 83. Edward Baines, editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, had supported the government plan in 1839 as had the majority of the Dissenters although some misgivings were expressed over the principle of state aid. See also Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction*, 77. In 1843 Baines and the Dissenters changed their minds about the intentions of the government and they continued to refuse grants until 1867.

³⁵See Appendix XXIV, *Total Schools for Children of the Poor*.

³⁶Adamson, *English Education*, 143-145.

³⁷G. M. Young, *Victorian England. Portrait of an Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 47.

³⁸*Education Census*, P.P. 1852-1853, XC, 84-89.

³⁹S. E. Maltby, *Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education 1800-1872* (Manchester: Longmans Green and Co., 1918), 47. The population in Manchester in 1834 was approximately 200,000. By 1851 it had increased to more than 390,000. See Appendix XV.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 49-51. The Society was formally organized in Manchester as a branch of the National Education Society on November 26, 1837, and was the result of a great meeting called by Richard Cobden and others Manchester merchants on September 26, 1837. Some of the important men who attended were Richard Potter, M.P.; Absalom Watkins; Alexander Henry; Joseph Brotherton, M.P.; Jacob Bright of Rochdale and his son, John Bright; and Alderman Richard Cobden (Watkins, Henry, and Brotherton later became members of the Lancaster Public School Association, see Appendix III). According to Cobden, 9 members of Parliament, 13 magistrates, 38 Churchmen, 38 Unitarians, 23 Independents, 15 Methodists, 11 members of the Society of Friends, 9 Baptists; as well as representatives of the Scottish Church, Roman Catholic, Scotch Session Church, and Swedenborgians attended. The organization was strongly opposed by the Reverend Hugh Stowell, a strong Evangelical Anglican from Manchester, on the grounds that the comprehension of all parties excludes all religion.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²See Appendix XIX, *Religious Denominations*. If any change took place, the proportion of Dissenters to Anglicans might have been slightly

less in 1846 than when the census was taken in 1851 because of the Irish immigration in 1847.

⁴³Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 65.

Chapter II

¹The Reverend C. Richson, *A Sketch of Some of the Causes, which, in Manchester, Induced the Abandonment of the Voluntary System in the Support of the Schools and the Introduction of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, in *Pamphlets on the Education Question* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851), 11. See also Adamson, *English Education*, 133.

²*Ibid.*, 12-13. See also Appendix I, *Manchester Church Education Society* for a list of the members. All belonged to the Established Church.

³Richson was the Secretary of the Manchester Church Education Society. When he began his testimony as one of the witnesses for the Denominationalists in the inquiry held by the Select Committee, he stated that he was a clerk in Holy Orders of the Cathedral and Parish Church of Manchester. He was to take an active part in the Denominational cause for the next twenty years. Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1852, XI, "Report of the Select Committee on Education in Manchester and Salford," 1.

⁴Stowell was described as a staunch Evangelical Anglican who hated Roman Catholicism and was scarcely more tolerant to Nonconformity. He was a great worker in his parish, beloved by rich and poor alike. His opposition to the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education, and the National Education Society of which it was a branch was based on his contention that the comprehension of all parties excludes all religion, and that irreligious education was worse than none. In 1866 Stowell was a Canon of Christ Church, Salford. Whether or not he was connected with this church in 1844 has not been ascertained. Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 53 and n.1, 96.

⁵Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 64.

⁶Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 14.

⁷*Ibid.*, 19. The Manchester Church Education Society supplemented not only schools aided by the National Society but also those which received grants from the government. Evidence of the latter fact may be found in an excerpt of a letter to the M.C.E.S. from one of the managers of a school in a poor district. He stated the schools in his area were so much in debt that without the help of the local Society, in addition to the government grants, they must soon be closed.

⁸*Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁹Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., *On the Means of Rendering More Efficient the Education of the People: A Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's* (London: John Murray, 1846).

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 32-33.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 7, 13, 29.

¹²*Ibid.*, 36, 45.

¹³*Ibid.*, 56-62.

¹⁴W. R. Stephens, *The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1880), 405-406.

¹⁵Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 17.

¹⁶Hook, *On the Means of Rendering More Efficient*, 13.

¹⁷Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 17-20. The following three excerpts from letters written by members of the clergy to the committee of the Manchester Church Education Society in 1847 give some indication of the difficulties that were being experienced in operating schools for the children of the poor.

"(i) The schools are greatly deficient of necessary books and materials, the interior of the building is generally out of order, and immediate outlay is necessary in consequence of dry rot in the floor. Great local efforts have been made, but the neighbourhood is poor, and there is no likelihood of maintaining the schools in an efficient state without a grant from the Society.

(ii) Although the schools exhibit an improving condition, it is *utterly impossible they can continue* without the Society's grants. The school committee are already in arrear with their treasurer, and he has resigned in consequence.

(iii) Every local exertion has been made to support the schools, but they suffer so severely from the state of the times, that if this Society cannot renew its grants, *he [the clergyman of the district] does not see any course but to close the schools.*"

See also A. Briggs, *Chartist Studies*, 61-62, for conditions in Manchester.

¹⁸Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 19. See also Appendix IV, *Report of the Very Rev. the Dean (G. H. Bowers)*.

¹⁹See Appendix XIX, *Religious Denominations in Manchester*.

²⁰Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 68. Jacob Bright was the younger brother of John Bright.

²¹*Ibid.* Lucas was married to Margaret Bright, sister of John and Jacob Bright, Editor of *Morning Star*, 1856 to death in 1865.

²²*Ibid.* Hodgson was born at Edinburgh, and Secretary of Liverpool Mechanics Institute, 1839. Headmaster of Chorlton High School, Manchester, 1847-1851.

²³*Ibid.* Born at Edinburgh, 1810. Came to Manchester, 1843. One of the proprietors of *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, a great friend of Hodgson.

²⁴*Ibid.* An original proprietor of *The Manchester Examiner*.

²⁵*Ibid.* Born at Kilmarnock, 1803. Minister at Lloyd Street Church (Presbyterian) from 1827. One of the original proprietors of *The Manchester Examiner*. Active supporter of Anti-Corn Law League. See also "Dissenting Matters," *The British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Educational Information*, XX (September 1, 1841), 331-339.

²⁶*Ibid.* It is interesting to note that six out of the seven original members of the Anti-Corn Law League were at the time members of the Lloyd Street Chapel. Maltby describes it as being Presbyterian but it is possible that the majority of the members were Unitarian. Many of the English Presbyterians were Unitarians by the 1840's and the latter were often Radical in politics. W. J. Fox is one example.

²⁷*Ibid.* There seems to be some disagreement over who should be credited for originating the Lancaster Public School Association. Lucas generally was given this honour, but at a dinner held for him on October 30, 1850 in Manchester he gave the chief credit to William McCall who did not take a prominent part in the activities of the Association. Lucas included McCall, John Heugh, and Neil Bannatyne in the list of those present at the first meeting in 1847.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*, 69.

³⁰See Appendix II, *A Plan for the Establishment of a General System of Secular Education in the County of Lancaster*.

³¹W. F. Connell, *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1950), 107-108. See also Adamson, *English Education*, 150-151. Adamson states that "the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 had conferred the municipal franchise on ratepayers and had made great reforms possible in the administration of the towns; but there seems to have been fairly general agreement that town councils were too 'political,' that is, partisan, to be entrusted with the oversight of education. The counties . . . were governed by magistrates acting in quarter sessions, or individually, democratic feeling was sufficiently strong to forbid the notion that education should be administered from the magistrates' bench. It was not until the Act of 1888 . . . created County and County Borough Councils that local government, rural and urban, was based on democratic franchise."

³²Arthur Redford, "The Emergence of Manchester," *The Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association*, XXIV (June 1939), 37-38.

³³Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 70.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵See Appendix III, *Members of the Lancaster School Association*. Maltby notes that Richard Cobden, M.P., Joseph Hume, M.P., and Douglas Jerrold were among the vice-presidents but their names do not appear on this list of the first committee.

³⁶Adamson, *English Education*, 150.

³⁷Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, 149-151. The Committee of Council on Education proposed in 1846 to remove the management of the schools which applied for government grants from the control of the parish priest and place them under the direction of laymen who were members of the Established Church. The Conscience Clause controversy followed the Management Clause dispute, and Denison continued his opposition until 1855. *Ibid.*, 157-165.

³⁸See Appendix XXIV, *Total Schools for Children of the Poor*, and Appendix XXV, *Education England and Wales*.

³⁹Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 26.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 27.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Ibid.*, 26-28.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 29-31.

⁴⁴David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London: John Murray, 1961), 103. James Prince Lee was born in 1804 and died in 1869. He taught at Rugby under Dr. Thomas Arnold from 1830-1838. He was headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham, for seven years before coming to Manchester. In addition to being in charge of the Classical school he supervised two elementary schools. By the time he left he had established seven schools in which 1,090 children were being educated. Burgess, in his book, *Enterprise in Education*, refers to him as "the liberal-minded Bishop of Manchester" who opposed Denison's encouragement of the National Society to enforce the universal teaching of the Catechism in their schools in 1851 (p. 122).

⁴⁵The Lancaster Public School Association may have believed the Bishop would favour their plan because of his interest in education and because of the urgency of the problem in Manchester. There apparently was little grounds for their belief.

⁴⁶Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 33. John Bright, as one of the members of the Select Committee on Education in 1852, asked

Dean Bowers who was one of the witnesses if it were not true that Bishop Lee had claimed for the Church all rate-built schools that would be supplied by the terms of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. Dean Bowers declined to answer this question. *Select Committee*, P.P. 1852, XI, 208.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 34. See also Asa Briggs, *Chartist Studies*, 62-64.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 36-37.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 38-39.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 40-41. The clause proposed stated that ". . . it be further enacted; that it shall be lawful for the guardians of any union, or for the select vestry, guardians, directors, managers, or overseers of the poor of any parish not in union, in England, and they are hereby authorized to pay out of the moneys in their hands for the relief of the poor in such union or parish respectively, the cost of or attending the education of children of parents receiving relief out of the workhouse or of children deserted by their parents, or being orphans or foundlings, and partly or wholly maintained out of the workhouse at the expense of the poor's rates in such union or parish, subject, however, to the rules and regulations which the Poor Law Board may from time to time issue respecting such education: and that all payments made by the guardians of any union in or about the education of the children aforesaid shall be charged to the common fund of such union."

⁵³William Edward Forster (1818-1886) was a Quaker who in 1852 was a partner of Mr. Fison, a woollen manufacturer, a business relationship which continued until Forster's death. He was a free trade liberal. In 1850 he left the Society of Friends when he married Jane Martha, eldest daughter of Dr. T. Arnold. Forster was Member of Parliament for Bradford from 1861 until 1886. Under Gladstone's first administration he was Vice-President of the Education Department [sic] and is credited with the success of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. *Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, 466.

⁵⁴Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 71. See n. 45 and 46.

⁵⁵Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 42.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 43.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 44. Quoted from the *Manchester Courier*, March 28, 1849. All members of the Manchester Church Education Society were Anglicans.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 43.

⁵⁹T. Bazley, a leading cotton-spinner and free trader, was chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Although his name is

not listed in early members of Lancaster Public School Association (Appendix III) he later became an active supporter of the National Public School Association. He was Member of Parliament for Manchester from 1859 until 1874. See Appendix XXII(B), *Members of Parliament for Manchester Borough*. Absalom Watkin was one of the original members of the L.P.S.A.

⁶⁰Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 71.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 72.

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 45. There is no record made in Hansard of this petition.

⁶⁵Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 73.

⁶⁶Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 46.

⁶⁷K. S. Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XI (1960), 74. Statistics were to show that not one-third as Stowell maintained but one-half the nation was Nonconformist. See also Appendix XIX, *Religious Denominations in Manchester*.

⁶⁸Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 73-74.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 74.

⁷⁰Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 47-49.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 49. Again, Hansard does not mention that Page Wood presented this petition, but Richson states in his evidence to the Select Committee on Education in Manchester and Salford that it was placed before the Commons on June 20, 1849. *Select Committee*, P.P. 1852, XI, 80.

⁷²Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 50-51.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 53.

⁷⁴Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 48, 54.

⁷⁵Dr. John Watts was one of twelve sons of a Coventry ribbon weaver. He was educated at a charity school, and later became a school-master and an insurance agent. He was said to be a professed agnostic; and in his own words, the only member of the Association that in past times had any connection with Socialism. After the Elementary Education Act was passed in 1870, he was elected to the first Manchester School Board. Maltby, 75. See also Appendix XXII(C). He is referred to as "a Socialist expounder" by *The Eclectic Review* which expressed the

Voluntaryists' policy. "The Rival Educational Projects," *The Eclectic Review*, April 1851, 479.

⁷⁶Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 75.

Chapter III

¹Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 56.

²Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 76.

³*Ibid.*

⁴See Appendix III, *Lancashire Public School Association*.

⁵Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 56.

⁶See Appendix V, *Proposed Petition of the Lancaster Public School Association*.

⁷*The Manchester Guardian*, April 3, 1850. Quoted in Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 57. *The Manchester Guardian* consistently supported the Secularist cause in 1847.

⁸*Parl. Debates*, CIX (1850), 27. Walter Johnson Fox (1786-1864) was a Unitarian minister and a celebrated radical orator who made his reputation as a member of the Anti-Corn Law League. He was Member of Parliament for Oldham from 1847 until 1863. See also Richard Garnett, *Life of W. J. Fox* (London: John Lane, 1910), 301-305, for a discussion of Fox's education policy.

⁹*Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁰"The Rival Educational Projects," *The Eclectic Review*, April 1851, 476. The author of this article calculated that there were approximately 17,000 schools of all kinds devoted to the education of the poor in England, Wales, and Scotland. Of these only one out of every fourteen operated under conditions that made it eligible to receive the grant from the Committee of Council. The following is a list of these schools classified according to the Churches which supported them:

Schools:	Number
a. National or Church Schools	973
b. British, Wesleyan, or other schools not connected with the Church	181
c. Roman Catholic Schools	32
d. Scotch Kirk Schools	82
e. Free Church and other schools in Scotland	93
Total	1,361

¹¹*Parl. Debates*, CIX (1850), 41, 42. See also Appendix VI, *Excerpt from the Manifesto of the Working Men of London*.

¹²*Ibid.*, 31. Fox gave the proportion of children in school to the entire population as 1 in 6 in Prussia, 1 in 7 at day school in Bavaria, 1 in 9 in Belgium, 1 in 8 in Holland, and 1 in 5 in Pennsylvania. He questioned Baines' statistics for England as 1 in 8-1/2 in every kind of school, day and Sunday; and believed that 1 in 13 was a closer estimate, while in Manchester 1 in 14-1/2 was a reasonably accurate figure.

¹³*Ibid.*, 38-43. See also Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1850, ii, "Promotion of Secular Education Bill," 461-468. New schools were to be free and secular. He did not propose to interfere with religious education in existing denominational schools which would receive 10s from School Committee for each child taught gratuitously.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁵*Ibid.* Robert H. Inglis was Member of Parliament for Oxford (University) and a member of the Church Building Commission (G.F.A. Best, *Temporal Pillars* [Cambridge: University Press, 1964] 355). Inglis was also a member of the High Church Party whose spokesman was G. A. Denison. Like Denison he consistently asserted the monopoly of the Church in education, and opposed government interference in any form other than to allot grants to the schools. In this sense the policy of this party was different from that of the Voluntaryists who refused any form of state aid.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 438-450.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 450.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 461-466.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 793-794.

²⁰Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 75-76.

²¹Francis Adams, *The Elementary School Contest in England* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1882), 155.

²²Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 55.

²³For the controversy going on in Parliament, in the Church, and in the National Society, see Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, 158-163.

²⁴See Appendix VII, *Public Day Schools*, and also Appendix XV which gives the number of schools which were inspected, and hence received the grants.

²⁵Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 55.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 58-60.

²⁷Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 78.

²⁸*Ibid.* The Scripture Extracts were purported to be passages on which all denominations could agree. The Secularists believed that assigning specific selections would prevent a teacher from choosing those which might be used to promote his own religious belief. See also Appendix II, *A Plan for the Establishment of Secular Education*, "Common Day Schools."

²⁹*Ibid.*, 77, 81.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 77. See also Appendix VIII, *National Public School Association*, S. VI, Cl. 5.

³¹*Ibid.* This resolution had been prepared at a committee meeting held on October 22, 1850.

³²*Ibid.*, 78. See also John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden*, II (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1908), 53. On November 9, 1850 Cobden offered the following explanation in a letter to George Combe:

"You will be puzzled at my objecting to the word 'secular.' If I had seen before I spoke upon the subject that the word occurred again in the body of the resolution, I should not have taken the objection. For, after all, in the words of Shakespeare, 'What's in a name?' applies very much to this case. We all mean the same thing, to teach the people something necessary for their well-being which the ministers of religion do not teach them."

³³Editorial, *Leeds Mercury*, November 9, 1850.

³⁴See Appendix VIII, *National Public School Association*, S. I.

³⁵Adams, *The Elementary School Contest*, 155.

³⁶Smith, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 233.

³⁷*The Manchester Guardian*, November 6, 1850. Quoted in Maltby, p. 82. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth resigned the position of Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education in December, 1849. Shortly after his resignation the Queen created him a Baronet. In spite of his illness which caused his resignation, he continued to take an active interest in education. Smith, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 220-223.

³⁸Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 81. George Coombe with whom Cobden maintained a close friendship and extensive correspondence was a great admirer and advocate of the Common School System of Massachusetts. Dr. Bacon and other Americans gave powerful addresses at the Lancaster Public School Association and the National Public School Association meetings. Combe also offered to supply "large quantities of his pamphlets" gratis to the N.P.S.A. on November 12, 1850.

³⁹Morley, *Richard Cobden*, II, 52-54. The Massachusetts system provided for education from the local rates; free, compulsory, and secular in the sense that no books teaching a specific doctrine were allowed to be used in the schools.

⁴⁰Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 78-79.

⁴¹Editorials, *Leeds Mercury*, November 9, 16, 23, December 30, 1850.

⁴²Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 80.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴Adams, *The Elementary School Contest*, 156.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 61.

⁴⁷See Appendix IX, *Marginal Notes of a Bill*.

⁴⁸In 1856 Earl Granville, the Lord President, introduced a bill which provided for the appointment of a Vice-President who would sit in the House of Commons. This was in accord with Sir John Pakington's motion made in the previous session that a Minister should be appointed who was responsible to the Commons and answerable for the increasing grants to the schools. *Parl. Debates*, CXL (1856), 814-815, and CXXXVII (1855), 644. Richson anticipated this move by six years. See also Connell, *Educational Thought*, 91-94.

⁴⁹Appendix IX, *Marginal Notes of a Bill*, S. XVI, Cl. 2.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, S. XIV, Cls. 1-3; S. XV, Cls. 1 and 2.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, S. XV, Cl. 3.

⁵²*Ibid.*, S. XV, Cl. 1.

⁵³*Ibid.*, S. XVII, XVIII, and XIX.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, S. XIII.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, S. XX, Cls. 1 and 2.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, S. XXI and XXII.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, S. XXII, Cls. 5, 6, 9, 10 and 11.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, S. XX, Cls. 1 and 3.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, S. XXIV.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, S. XXII, Cl. 1.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, S. XXIV, Cl. 9.

⁶²Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 63.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 66.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 62-63.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 67.

⁶⁶*Ibid.* All were members of the Established Church.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 68.

Chapter IV

¹Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 68. The last four men were clergymen of the Established Church.

²See Appendix X, *Manchester and Salford Education Bill Sub-Committee*, and Appendix XI, *Manchester and Salford Education Committee*. The denominations to which all the members belonged have not been ascertained. However, W. J. Fox in his speech to the Commons on May 22, 1851 (*Parl. Debates*, CXVI, 1259) stated that the Manchester and Salford Education Committee was made up of representatives of every religious denomination in Manchester and Salford. Later in the same debate the Solicitor General, Sir William Page Wood, noted that the Committee consisted of gentlemen of every shade of politics from the highest Tory to the strongest Radical, and of gentlemen of every religious creed (p. 1274).

There was some truth in the claim that the majority were members of the Established Church. R. W. Smiles, secretary of the N.P.S.A. wrote in *(Third) Appeal to the Evangelical Dissenting Laity, from One of their Own Order* under the pseudonym of *Fiat Lux*: 'Alas for the Church Education Society! Its soul has transmigrated, and the C.E.S. now lives in the Manchester and Salford Committee on Education.' Quoted in Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 82.

³*The Eclectic Review*, April 1851, 486.

⁴Richson, *The Scheme of Secular Education Proposed by the National Public School Association Compared with the Manchester and Salford Boroughs' Education Bill*, in *Pamphlets on Education* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851), 142-151.

⁵*The Manchester Guardian*, July 11, 1851. Quoted in Smith, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 233-234.

⁶Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 81.

⁷Richson, *The Scheme of Secular Education*, 28.

⁸*Cobden's Speeches*, Vol. II, 568 et sqq. Excerpts printed in James E. Thorold Rogers, *Cobden and Modern Political Opinion* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1873), 352-356. See also Appendix II, *A Plan for Secular Education*. There is no mention here of renting or purchasing

existing buildings. This clause was added to the educational plan of the National Public School Association. See Appendix VIII, Cl. 6, sec. 2 and 3.

⁹Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 71.

¹⁰Smith, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 234.

¹¹Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 72.

¹²*Ibid.*, 72. See also *The Scheme of Secular Education*, 142-151.

¹³See Appendix XI, *Manchester and Salford Education Committee*.

¹⁴Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 74.

¹⁵The report of the subcommittee was published after the meeting of February 19, 1851. Reference is made here to the Manchester and Salford Bill as the two documents are alike in principle. More detail is offered in the Bill.

¹⁶See Appendix IV, *Report of Very Reverend the Dean (G. H. Bowers)*.

¹⁷See Appendix XII, *A Bill for Promoting Education in the Municipal Boroughs of Manchester and Salford*.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Cls. 1-16.

¹⁹In Horace Mann's investigation of education in England and Wales for the census, he defined public day schools as those which gather any portion of their income from any source besides scholars' fees. Private day schools are those supported by fees alone. See Appendix XXV, *Public and Private Day Schools*.

²⁰See Appendix XII, *The Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, Cl. 17.

²¹*Ibid.* See also *Interpretation of Words*, Cls. 93-97.

²²*Ibid.*, Cls. 17-20.

²³*Ibid.* See Schedule A, *Form of Application for Admission to Union*, following Cl. 97.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Cls. 24-29.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Cls. 63-69.

²⁶*Ibid.*, Cls. 44-46.

²⁷*Ibid.*, Cls. 75-81. See also Cl. 4, "Qualifications of Members of District School Committee."

²⁸*Promotion of Secular Education Bill*, P.P. 1850, ii, 461-468. In this Bill Fox's aim was to supply deficiency of the existing provisions for secular education. Annual reports by the inspectors were to be made to the Committee of Council. If Educational Committees in the parish or boroughs failed to provide sufficient classrooms then the Committee of Council was given power to coerce the defaulting area. The National Public School Association proposed to replace the Committee of Council with Commissioners appointed by the Crown. See Appendix VIII, Section IX. See also Richson, *The Scheme of Secular Education*, 22-25. Compare these suggestions with the Manchester and Salford scheme, Cls. 76 and 79. Fox would give more power to the Committee of Council than the latter group while the N.P.S.A. would abandon it altogether.

²⁹See Appendix XII, *The Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, Cls. 18, 24, 29, 32, and 52.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Cl. 15.

³¹*Ibid.*, Cl. 19.

³²*Ibid.*, Cl. 34.

³³*Ibid.*, Cl. 54.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Cl. 23.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Cl. 79.

³⁶*Ibid.*, Cl. 31.

³⁷*Ibid.*, Cl. 91.

³⁸*Ibid.*, Cls. 48 and 49.

³⁹Adamson, *English Education*, 143-144. Augmentation grants were payments by the Committee of Council amounting to £15 to £30 per annum depending on the number of years of training a teacher had. The payment also depended on the school managers who were required to provide a house rent free and to pay a salary amounting to twice as much as the augmentation payment (Minute of Committee of Council, 1846).

⁴⁰See Appendix XII, *The Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, Cl. 49.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, Cl. 30.

⁴²*Ibid.*, Cl. 54.

⁴³*Ibid.*, Cls. 59 and 60.

⁴⁴See Appendix VII, *Public Day Schools in Manchester Borough*, and Appendix XV, *Classification of Schools*.

⁴⁵Appendix XII, *The Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, Cl. 31.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, Cl. 36.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Cl. 45.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Cl. 86.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Cl. 33.

⁵⁰*The Manchester Guardian*, February 22, 1851. Quoted in Smith, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 237.

⁵¹Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 85.

⁵²Richson, *The Scheme of Secular Education*, Appendix C, *Declaration of the Roman Catholic Clergy*, 152-153.

⁵³See Appendix VII, *Public Day Schools in Manchester Borough*, and Appendix XV, *School Buildings*.

⁵⁴See Appendix XII, *The Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, Cl. 27.

⁵⁵Richson, *The Scheme of Secular Education*, Appendix D, *Minutes of the Manchester and Salford (Executive) Committee*, 154-155.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 85. The Jewish Community had one school in Manchester (See Appendix VII) and two synagogues (Appendix XIX). I have been able to find no other evidence of their having taken part in any other plans for rate-aid to free schools, denominational or secular.

⁵⁸See Appendix VIII, *National Public School Association*.

⁵⁹"The Rival Educational Projects," *The Eclectic Review*, April 1851, 471-499.

⁶⁰*The Eclectic Review* argued that the Voluntaryists could not compete with the proposed free schools and could not stop charging fees. If they did, costs would double and in most cases the schools would close. They would be taxed against their conscience and at the same time their schools would be destroyed.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 493.

⁶²George Anthony Denison, *A Reply to the Committee of Promoters of the Manchester and Salford Education Scheme* (London: Joseph Masters, 1851).

⁶³*Ibid.*, Appendix A, "Objections and Remarks upon the Manchester and Salford Education Scheme," reprinted from the Annual Report of the *Bristol Church Union*, April 7, 1851, 19-22. At the same time as this

article was written Denison was carrying on a protracted dispute with the Committee of Council over the incorporation of the management clauses in the trust deeds of schools receiving aid from the National Society. Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, 151-157, 162.

⁶⁴*Parl. Debates*, CXVI (1851), 1255.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 1245-1255.

⁶⁶Thomas Milner-Gibson and John Bright were the two members of Parliament for Manchester. See Appendix XXII (B).

⁶⁷*Parl. Debates*, CXVI (1851), 1283. Cobden pointed out that not only had the two members withdrawn from the Committee, but that the eighteen members of the Roman Catholic clergy of Manchester and Salford had declared that they could take no further part in forwarding the proposed legislative measure.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 1277. Sir William Page Wood had given active support in 1848 and 1849 to the Manchester Church Education Society's efforts to have the Poor Laws amended so that school fees could be paid from the rates for children of those who received out-door relief.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 1257, 1274.

⁷⁰See Appendix XIII, *National Public School Association Amendment*.

⁷¹Smith, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 236-237. See also Appendix XII, *The Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, Cl. 69.

⁷²*The Manchester Guardian*, August 1851. Quoted in Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 85.

⁷³Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 84-85.

⁷⁴*Parl. Debates*, CXIX (1852), 382-385, 391. Wilson Patten, Member of Parliament for N. Lancashire stated in the Commons on February 11, 1852 when the second reading of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill was being debated that of the 60,000 ratepayers in Manchester, 40,000 had signed the petition. Cardwell, Member of Parliament for Liverpool pointed out that the Bishop, Dean, chapter, and clergy, the Independent ministers, and almost, if not altogether, every denomination signed the petition.

⁷⁵Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 85-95.

⁷⁶Denison, *A Reply to the Promoters*, 3.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 1-14.

⁷⁹Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 84.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 85.

Chapter V

¹*Parl. Debates*, CXIX (1852), 380.

²*Ibid.*, 381.

³*Ibid.*, 382.

⁴*Ibid.*, 385.

⁵*Ibid.*, 387-390. Gladstone gave the following example of the confusion which arose over dealing with national affairs by a private bill: "The Commons erected the collegiate church of Manchester into a cathedral, and put it under the general laws of cathedrals; the House took it out of that category, and remodelled it by private Bill. They had dealt with the chapter and cathedral by a private Bill, but they had brought into existence the bishopric of Manchester by a public bill." p. 390.

Gladstone did not give his opinion of the Bill other than to comment that there were some parts he could agree with, and others that he could not (p. 389). See also Edmund Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1906), I, 423-424. According to Fitzmaurice, Gladstone was ready to accept some form of conscience clause, but he did not sympathize nor did he believe in the possibility or justice of teaching undenominational religion at public expense. Even in his later years there is little reason to believe that he changed this view. Fitzmaurice asserts further that Gladstone firmly believed that the teaching of religion to children was the duty of the schools.

⁶*Parl. Debates*, CXIX (1852), 393-396. Joseph Hume was the Radical member of Parliament for Montrose.

⁷*Ibid.*, 394-395.

⁸*Ibid.*, 383-385, 391-393.

⁹Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1852, XI, "Report from the Select Committee on Manchester and Salford Education," 259. (There are two page numbers on each of the microprints, one original number and one added later. All references here are to the original number.)

¹⁰*The Athenaeum*, March 6, 1952, 280.

¹¹Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction*, 198-199.

¹²*Parl. Debates* (House of Lords), CXIX (1852), 902.

¹³*Parl. Debates*, CXIX (1852), 1198.

¹⁴Walpole objected specifically to Clause 64 which established a public rate; to Clauses 29, 30 and 31 which made provisions for free

schools; to Clause 31 again for the section which introduced a compulsory conscience clause; to Clause 69 which granted the District School Committee the power to allocate excess funds; and to Clauses 75 and 86 which provided for schools built from the rates. See Appendix XII, *Manchester and Salford Education Bill*.

¹⁵*Parl. Debates*, CXIX (1852), 1203-1207.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 1207-1209. The Whig policy in education, expressed in the government grants and the changes instituted particularly by the Minutes of the Committee of Council of 1839, 1846, and 1847, was basically one of cautious change when conditions demanded it. Lord John Russell was a member of the British and Foreign School Society. See *Parl. Debates*, CXI (1847), 965.

¹⁷Marjorie Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1863), 15. The Tory party was traditionally Anglican, and many members of the party still looked back with nostalgia to the time when Church and State were one, at least in theory. Generally speaking, the party stood for maintaining the *status quo* and regarded education as the proper sphere of the Church. Opposition to the Manchester and Salford Bill was based chiefly on the threat to Church control of the schools through a rate paid by all denominations. There were exceptions however. Sir John Pakington was one of the leading Tories who supported the Bill.

Secularist and Voluntarist opinion split the Radicals. Hume who was a Secularist saw in the Bill another step toward increasing the power of the Executive and the Church. Edward Baines rejected all government interference in education. Maccoby cites this "inter-Radical" dispute as one of the principal causes of the failure of educational legislation in this period. *English Radicalism 1832-1852*, 330.

¹⁸*Parl. Debates*, CXIX (1852), 1211-1212, 1218. Edward Cardwell lost his seat for Liverpool to a Tory in the election of July, 1852. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* refers to him as "this favourite lieutenant of Sir Robert Peel," although it is doubtful that he expressed Peel's attitude toward education. (Peel, and Sir James Graham, had been accused by Nonconformists in 1843 of attempting to place control of elementary education in the hands of the Church by the terms of the proposed Factory Act.) Cardwell's defeat was a loss to the Manchester and Salford group, but it is difficult to assess whether it was the result of his support of the Bill. Vol. LXXII, October 1852, 257.

¹⁹See Appendix XIV (A), *Members of the Select Committee*.

²⁰*Parl. Debates*, CXX (1852), 341-342. Wilson Patten charged that ten of the fifteen members appointed were opposed to the Bill.

²¹*Ibid.*, 342.

²²L. E. Denison, ed., *Fifty Years at East Brent* (London: John Murray, 1902), 32.

²³*Select Committee*, P.P., 1852, XI, 2-3. The poor rate varied according to the district. In Manchester it was four shillings in the pound in 1851 while in Pendlebury it was one shilling.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 7. According to Richson's figures 19.5 per cent of the people lived in houses rated under £5, 57.5 per cent between £5 and £10, 17 per cent between £10 and £18, 5.5 per cent between £18 and £50, and .05 per cent above £50. See also Appendix XV, *Number of Assessments*.

²⁵See Appendix XVI (B), *Weekly Income of 777 Families in Manchester and Salford*.

²⁶*Select Committee*, P.P., 1852, XI, 340. See also Appendix XVIII (A), *Comparative Wage Scale*, and Appendix XVII (B), *Cost of Some of the Most Common Foods*. Adshead used these statistics to show that the condition of the working classes had improved in the past ten years. Richson charged that all the figures showed was how terrible the lot of the poor had been, and that there was still much room for improvement.

²⁷See Appendix XVI (A), *Births and Deaths in Manchester District*.

²⁸By "common elementary schools" Richson explained that he meant those supported wholly or partly by the voluntary efforts of the community (contributions and fees) and private schools in which weekly fees are paid as distinguished from those schools in which payments are quarterly. *Education England and Wales*, P.P., 1852, XI, 8. Horace Mann excludes private schools. See Appendix XXV, *Education England and Wales*.

²⁹*Select Committee*, P.P., 1852, XI, 11. See also Appendix XV, *Number of Children of School Age* and *Number of Children Attending Day Schools*. Richson's figures do not coincide exactly with those in the Appendixes. The latter are based on the Census of 1851. Richson's are very near as a comparison will show. Horace Mann later testified to this effect (p. 356).

³⁰*Ibid.*, 11-12, 16, 91.

³¹*Ibid.*, 58.

³²*Ibid.*, 70. See Appendix XVIII, *Alleged Causes of Children's Absence*.

³³*Ibid.*, 55.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 50.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 13-15. See also Appendix XV, *Classification of Schools and School Buildings Separate Used as Day Schools*. That a school was inspected indicates that it was eligible to receive government grants to augment teachers' salaries, or had received them for buildings, or both. The total of 99 schools in this Appendix may not agree with the 94 listed in Appendix VII because of the practice of counting a divided school, one for boys and one for girls, as two separate schools.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 58-60.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 85.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 91.

³⁹Much of Richson's argument was based on the following report by S. Neal, Chief Constable for the Borough of Salford: "I find from the published returns of the receipts and expenditures of Salford and Manchester for the year 1849-50, that the expense incurred in the detection and punishment of 6,311 offenders in that year, was, in the aggregate nearly £60,000 for the two boroughs. The police returns show, that after allowing for stolen property recovered, the further sum of £5,052 17s. 3d. was lost to the inhabitants through felonies; and consequently the total amount lost and spent through crime was £65,063 The average cost per head of the 6,311 offenders was £10.6s; but the cost of educating the juvenile population is only 16s. The criminal . . . thus appears to cost £9 10s. a year more than the scholar." Quoted in Richson, *The Scheme of Secular Education*, 12.

⁴⁰*Select Committee*, P.P., 1852, XI, 113-199.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 202-213.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 213-214.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 217-218, 228.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 230-232.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 239. Edward Baines also quoted from the report of S. Neal (see above, n. 39) to the effect that there were 2,037 public and beer houses in Manchester and Salford, where £4,074 was spent every Saturday night. Each person who visited one of these houses spent an average of 2s. In Baines' opinion, this was sufficient evidence that few were too poor to pay 2d, 4d, or even 6d per week for education.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 262.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 259-262.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 262-263.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 286-293.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 340. See also Appendix XVII (A) and (B), *Comparative Wage Scale*, and *Cost of Some of the More Common Foods*.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 346.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 350. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* stated that the demand for education was due to agitation by the newspapers which wanted to increase their circulation. LXXII, October 1852, 434.

⁵³*Select Committee*, P.P., 1852, XI, ii.

⁵⁴Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction*, 155, 119-200.

⁵⁵Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 86.

⁵⁶Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1852-1853, XXIV, "Report from the Select Committee on Education in Manchester and Salford," 301-609. See also Appendix XIV (B) for changes in membership of the Select Committee.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 1-7.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 29-30.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 30. One of the reports of McKerrow read was the following from the *City Missionary Magazine*, February 1849, by one of the missionaries who worked among the poor of Manchester.

"My district comprises 996 houses and 240 cellars. Some of cellars have two and three families living in them, and many of the houses from two to three, and some five to six. . . . the average number is not less than two, which gives a total of 2,472, and taking five for each family, there will be a population of 12,360 souls. For the moral and religious improvement of the multitude, besides the agency of the Town Mission, we have . . . one New-connexion Methodist Chapel, with a day and Sunday School attached to it (the day school has since been closed); one Sunday School and day school belonging to the Presbyterians (both since transferred to another part of town), one Sunday School and day school connected with the Unitarians and a third day school connected with no particular sect; while there are 52 houses licensed for the sale of intoxicating drink, one theatre, one casino, and no less than 22 brothels."

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 37.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 42.

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴*Parl. Debates*, CXXV (1853), 523-537. See also Adamson, *English Education*, 153. The Bill was part of a large scheme which involved a review of charitable trusts, the enlargement of the School of Design, and the reform of Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

⁶⁵Maltby, *National Elementary Education*,

⁶⁶*Select Committee*, P.P., 1852-1853, XXIV, 68

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 79.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 99. See also Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship," 74-86. Church attendance in Manchester was distributed among the denominations in the following proportions: Church of England 34.4 per cent; Nonconformist 42.3 per cent; Roman Catholic 23.3 per cent. Inglis notes that fewer than 1 in 10 attended either the Church of England or one of the Nonconformist Churches in Manchester on census day. Total attendance in percentage of the population was 49.7. The index of attendance based on this percentage was 11.9 for the Church of England and 14.7 for the Nonconformists but there was the large Roman Catholic Irish populations to be considered. See also Appendix XIX, *Religious Denominations*.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 117.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 119-121.

⁷¹Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 86. Samuel Peto was a Voluntaryist. See also *Parl. Debates*, CXXX (1854), 1096.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 86-87.

⁷³*Parl. Debates*, CXXX (1854), 1045-1046.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 1052.

⁷⁵Connell, *Educational Thought*, 40. Edward Miall was an Independent minister who was noted for his attacks on the Established Church, and on state interference in education. He was the founder of the British Anti-State Church Association in 1844. In 1858 he served on the Newcastle Commission, and along with Goldwin Smith and Nassau Senior, formed the minority group which opposed increased state interference in the schools. With the collapse of the Voluntaryist cause in 1867, Miall became the leader of the Nonconformists who later joined the National League, and also the Radicals who deserted Gladstone's Liberal party in 1874. See also Cruickshank, *Church and State*, 35.

⁷⁶Sir John S. Pakington, Member of Parliament for Droitwich and Colonial Secretary in Derby's first ministry (1852) was to continue to take an active interest in education. In 1855 he introduced the Promotion of Education (No. 2) Bill in the Commons, and in 1857 the Education (Cities and Boroughs) Bill. Pakington's support of the Manchester group did not conform with the educational policy of the majority of Tories.

⁷⁷*Parl. Debates*, CXXX (1854), 1063-1111.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, CXXXVII (1855), 690-691, 695. The Town Council had unanimously adopted a petition "praying the House not to sanction any attempt to deal with the subject of education otherwise than by a general and national measure, proposed to the legislature by and on the responsibility of the Government." The Council's objection to the Manchester and Salford Education Bill was based on its sectarian and local character rather than to the principle of rate-aid. Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 88.

⁷⁹Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1861, XXI, "State of Popular Education in England," Part 6, 319.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 320.

Chapter VI

¹See Appendix XXIII (B), *Elementary Education Bills*.

²Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 88.

³Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1854-1855, ii, "Promotion of Education Bill, No. 1," 235-243.

⁴Charles B. Adderley (Lord Norton) introduced the Manchester and Salford Education Bill in 1854. He was a member of the National Society, and was later Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education (1858-1859) in Derby's second ministry. See Appendix XXIII (A), *Vice-Presidents and Secretaries*.

⁵Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1854-1855, ii, "Promotion of Education Bill, No. 2," 245-268.

⁶Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1854-1855, ii, "Free Schools Bill," 463-475.

⁷*Ibid.*, Cl. 8, 470.

⁸*Ibid.*, Cl. 2, 464.

⁹*Parl. Debates*, CXXXVII (1855), 640-699, 2112-2160. See also CXXXVIII (1855), 1784-1828.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, CXXXIX (1855), 383.

¹¹Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 89.

¹²See Appendix XX, *Dissolution of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill Committee*.

¹³Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 90.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 92. Thomas Bazley, vice-president of the National Public School Association, presided at the meeting on December 15 which was attended by a number of the most influential members of the Association and the recently dissolved Manchester and Salford Committee on Education. The following resolutions were adopted as the basis of an Education Bill intended to be introduced in the next session:

- "a. That a rate for education is desirable.
- b. That all schools deriving aid from the Rate shall be subjected to Inspection, but such Inspection as is paid out of the Rate shall not be extended to Religious instruction.

- c. That all schools shall be entitled to aid out of the Rate, provided the Instruction other than Religious shall come up to the required standard, and that no child shall be excluded on religious grounds.
- d. That distinctive Religious formularies, where taught, shall be taught at some hour to be specified by the Managers of the School in each case, in order to facilitate the withdrawal of those children whose Parents or Guardians may object to their instruction in such distinctive Religious formularies.
- e. That there be no interference with the Management or Instruction of the schools other than may be needed to carry out the principles of the forgoing resolutions.
- f. That the Education Rate be administered by Local authorities, to be specially elected by and out of the Ratepayers for the purpose."

These resolutions are of particular interest since the second, fourth, and fifth re-appeared in the Elementary Education Act of 1870.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 92, 94. The National Public School Association was formally dissolved on November 21, 1862 when five members, H. J. Leppoc, A. Winterbottom, R. M. Shipman, and Councillors John Smith, jun., and Aspen met in the Town Hall--in strange contrast with the inaugural meeting of 1850 and voted that £60 should be given to R. W. Smiles, former secretary, and the balance of £200 to the Manchester Free (Secular) School in aid of its funds.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 92. See also Appendix XXI (A), *General Committee on Education*.

¹⁷Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1857 (Sess. I), i, "A Bill to Promote Education in Corporate Cities and Boroughs in England and Wales," 95-127.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁹*Supra.*, n. 14.

²⁰*A Bill to Promote Education*, P.P., 1857, i, 110.

²¹*Ibid.* See also Appendix XII, *Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, Cls. 36 and 37.

²²*Parl. Debates*, CXLIV (1857), 775-802, 1875.

²³*Ibid.*, CXLVIII (1857-1858), 1193.

²⁴Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 94.

²⁵*Parl. Debates*, CXLVIII (1857-1858), 1193. On February 11, 1858 Pakington stated to the Commons that it was perfectly clear that Her Majesty's Government had no intentions of legislating on the question of education, and that conditions would not change if there were a change in administration. (Palmerston's ministry was succeeded by that of Derby on February 25, 1858.)

²⁶Adamson, *English Education*, 154. On February 25, 1856 some changes had been made in the educational administration by Palmerston. The Committee of Council and the Science and Art Department were both to come under the title of the Education Department. A new position, that of Vice-President of the Council was created. The Vice-President was to be a member of the Government of the day and was to sit in the Commons. This in no sense created a separate Department of Education with a Cabinet minister at the head. See also Appendix XXIII (A), *Vice-Presidents and Secretaries*.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 202.

²⁸*Ibid.* See also Appendix XXII (A), *Extract from Census of Great Britain*.

²⁹*Parl. Debates*, CXLVIII (1857-1858), 1184-1185.

³⁰Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1861, XXI, Pt. 1. "Duke of Newcastle's Commission. State of Popular Education in England." Derby was succeeded by Palmerston in June, 1859.

³¹Adamson, *English Education*, 222.

³²*Ibid.*, 227-228.

³³Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 94.

³⁴Edward Brotherton (1814-1866) was a retired silk manufacturer and member of the Church of New Jerusalem who devoted himself to popular education. His letters in the Manchester newspapers led to the formation of the Manchester Education Aid Society, an experiment which showed the need of compulsion, if the poor were to attend school. This demonstration which H. A. Bruce called the "thunderclap from Manchester" later paved the way for the Education Act of 1870. *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 1353.

³⁵Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 94-95.

³⁶See Appendix XXI (B), *Members of the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society*.

³⁷Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 96.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 96-98.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 98.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 100.

⁴¹See Appendix XXIII (A), *Vice-Presidents and Secretaries*. H. A. Bruce was Vice-President of the Committee of Council (1864-1866)

and Home Secretary in Gladstone's first ministry. Bruce and Forster brought in the Education Bills of 1867, 1868, and 1870.

⁴²Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 100. *Supra* n. 34.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 103. At the sixth annual meeting, Oliver Heywood, president of the Manchester Education Aid Society, also claimed that the latter originated the Manchester Education Bill Society.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 106.

⁴⁵Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1867, ii, "Education of the Poorer Classes Bill," 683-717.

⁴⁶The following statement quoted by Maltby from the *Final Report of the Commission on Elementary Education*, 1888, pp. 20-21, shows the relationship between the Manchester Education Bill Society and the earlier Manchester and Salford Education Committee:

"Mr. Egerton was looked upon as the personal representative of the earnest and influential union of friends of education in Manchester which brought forward the earlier Bill. Fourteen (a slip for sixteen) years had not passed without removing some who had taken an active part in preparing the Bill of 1851. But several still remained at their post, ready to lend their best help to any honest endeavours to solve the educational problem of the nation. These, joined by other earnest friends of education, put the machinery in motion which brought forward this Bill [Education of the Poorer Classes]." *National Elementary Education*, 107.

⁴⁷*Education of the Poorer Classes Bill*, P.P., 1867, ii, 690, 694, 699.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 683, 699.

⁴⁹*Parl. Debates*, CLXXXVIII (1867), 1317.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, CXC (1867-1868), 734-741. In the first resolution Russell maintained that the children of the working classes had a moral right to education, and that it was the duty of the state to guard and maintain this right.

⁵¹Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 101-102. See also Cruickshank, *Church and State*. The majority of the Nonconformists later joined the National Education League. Edward Miall was their chief spokesman in the Commons. If there was a residue who continued to remain Voluntaryists no evidence has been found of this fact.

⁵²Richard Cobden died in 1865.

⁵³Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 108.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1867-1868, ii, "The Elementary Education Bill," 359-414.

⁵⁶Connell, *Educational Thought*, 113. The most important part of Marlborough's Bill was the recommendation for a Department of Education administered by a Secretary of State for Education with powers to levy a rate and establish schools were required.

⁵⁷Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 109.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 105.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 109-110.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 110.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 114. The 578 vice-presidents of the Union in 1870 included 2 archbishops, 5 dukes, 1 marquess, 18 earls, 21 bishops, 21 barons, and 111 members of parliament. Hugh Birley, Member of Parliament for Manchester was chairman of the executive. Two members of the Manchester Education Bill Committee, A. F. Egerton and W. R. Callendar, jun., were vice-presidents as was Edward Baines.

⁶²*Ibid.* Quoted from *National Education Union. First Annual Report*, 3rd. November, 1870.

⁶³Adamson, *English Education*, 352. By the terms of Denison's Act of 1862 and the Industrial Schools Act of 1866 localities could choose whether or not education from the rates for indigent children should be compulsory.

⁶⁴Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1870, i, "The Elementary Education Bill," 505-542.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, Cl. 9. See also Appendix XII, *The Manchester and Salford Education Bill*, Cls. 75, 76, 77. Six months was allowed in the earlier bill to correct the deficiency of schools. This time limit was later adopted by Forster.

⁶⁶*The Elementary Education Bill*, P.P., 1870, i, Cl. 3. The Education Department is defined as "the Lords of the Privy Council."

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, Cl. 14.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, Cl. 17.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, Cls. 17 and 22. This provision is much the same as that provided in Cl. 36 of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, Cls. 22-24. Compare with Cl. 45 of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill where a specific sum was allowed for each child. By the terms of the Elementary Education Bill an elementary schools means "a school or a department of a school at which elementary education is the principal part of education there given, and does not include any school at which scholars are boarded or clothed, or at which the ordinary payment in respect of instruction, from each scholar, exceeds nine pence a week." Cl. 3.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, Cl. 66.

⁷²*Ibid.*, Cl. 47.

⁷³*Ibid.*, Cl. 83.

⁷⁴*Supra*, n. 14.

⁷⁵*The Elementary Education Bill*, P.P., 1870, i, Cl. 7. Compare with Cl. 13 of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill.

⁷⁶*Supra*, n. 14.

⁷⁷Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 117. In addition to the Bill of 1868 the Manchester Education Bill Committee had also prepared a separate bill entitled Compulsory Education Bill, 1870. The amendments to Forster's Bill moved by Sir Thomas Bazley were identical in wording with the clauses of this Bill.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 118.

⁷⁹Smith, *English Elementary Education*, 288.

⁸⁰Cruickshank, *Church and State*, 26-27.

⁸¹Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1870, i, "The Elementary Education Bill (As Amended in Committee)," 543-581.

⁸²*Ibid.*, Cl. 7 (2) and (3) and Cl. 14 (2). See also n. 14.

⁸³Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1870, i, "The Elementary Education Bill (As Amended in Committee and on Re-Commitment)," 583-629.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, Cl. 27.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, Cl. 22.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, Cl. 92.

⁸⁷Great Britain, Parliament, *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons), 1870, i, "The Elementary Education Bill (As Amended by the Lords)," 631-638.

⁸⁸Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 119.

⁸⁹See Appendix XXII (C), *First Manchester School Board*.

⁹⁰Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 72. Richson is mentioned for the last time in February, 1869 when as proctor of the Chapter of Manchester in the Convocation of York he moved for a Committee on Education. Maltby claims that it was mainly due to Richson's efforts

that Convocation for the first time took the details of education practically in hand, and that the spirit in which the problem was approached was "harmonious with the spirit which actuates enlightened and impartial statemen." *National Elementary Education*, 115.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

MANCHESTER CHURCH EDUCATION SOCIETY

(FIRST REPORT, 1845)

The "Working Committee" is composed for the most part of clergy and includes: Canon Wray, the Rev. H. Stowell, H. H. Birley, the Rev. H. W. M'Grath, J. B. Wanklyn, the Rev. C. Richson, Hon. Sec., J. C. Harter, Hon. Treas.

Amongst donors of large amounts are: Ed. Lloyd of Green Hill, £210; Birley & Co., £200, and an annual subscription of £25; the Rev. John Clowes, Lord Fr. Egerton, George Faulkner, Robert Gladstone, J. C. Harter, Thomas Houldsworth, M.P.; Earl Wilton

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 154.]

APPENDIX II

A PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL SYSTEM OF SECULAR EDUCATION IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER

[Copy of a leaflet included in a book entitled *Lancashire Public School Association : Printed Papers*, in Reference Library, Manchester.]

DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

The County of Lancaster is divided into six Hundreds or Wapentakes—viz.

Amounderness, which in 1840 contained	59	townships
Leyland	40	"
Salford	99	"
Blackburn	78	"
Lonsdale	90	"
West Derby	98	"
The entire number of townships is 464.		

SCHOOL COMMITTEES

Every parish or township in the county, containing 2000 inhabitants or upwards, shall be required to appoint annually a school committee, consisting of numbers in the following proportion to the population. In the parishes or townships containing :

2,000	} and {	5,000 inhabitants, the committee shall consist of					
5,000		10,000	"	"	"	"	"
10,000		50,000	"	"	"	"	"
50,000 and upwards		"	"	"	"	"	"

The school committees shall be required to establish and support the following four descriptions of schools ; for which purpose they shall be empowered to levy rates.

SCHOOLS

First—Common Day Schools

For children from five to fifteen years of age.

In which they shall be instructed in reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, geography and such other kinds of useful secular information as may be deemed advisable, or the growing intelligence of the people may demand. In addition to these, a sacred regard to truth, justice, kindness and forbearance in our intercourse with our fellow-creatures ; temperance, frugality, industry, and all other virtues conducive to the right ordering of practical conduct in the affairs of life. And inasmuch as these virtues, together with reverence and love towards the Divine Being, are clearly taught and powerfully enforced in the Scriptures, a selection of examples and precepts inculcating them shall be taught therefrom, and read and used in the said schools, but without reference to the peculiar theological tenets of any religious sect or denomination.

For the purpose of making this selection, a commission shall be appointed by the county board, consisting of nine individuals, no two of whom shall be members of the same religious denomination : and in order that the peculiar tenets of no religious sect may be favoured, the unanimous concurrence of the commission shall be required in the selection.

Second—Evening Schools

For persons of the age of ten years and upwards. Under the same regulations as the day schools.

Third—Infant Schools

For children under six years of age.

Fourth—Industrial Schools

For the purpose of affording food and shelter during the day to that portion of the juvenile population which has no apparent means of subsistence save by begging or crime ; of instructing them in the foregoing branches of education, and in some industrial occupation, which may lead them to prefer a life of useful activity to one of idleness, rescue them from destitution and misery, and give them an opportunity of becoming honest and respectable members of the community.

RIGHT OF ADMISSION TO THE SCHOOLS

All children shall have the right of free admission, at the ages before mentioned, to the day, evening, or infant schools of the parish, township, or school union, in which they reside, except such as do not possess the faculties of hearing, speech, or sight, such as are of unsound mind, afflicted with any contagious disorder, or convicted of crime.

NOTE.—School committees may, in special cases, relax the rule excluding children convicted of crime.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE

The school committee shall have the power to dismiss and engage masters and teachers, and to decide on all matters relating to the management of the schools, subject to the following regulations :—

1. Nothing shall be taught in any of the schools which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect ; and in order that perfect security may be afforded, any ratepayer shall have the right to complain to the school committee of the conduct of any teacher in this respect ; and in case of dissatisfaction with the decision of the school committee, he shall have the right to appeal to the committee of the hundred ; and if dissatisfied with their decision to the county board of education, and from the decision of the county board to the courts of law and equity.
2. No clergyman of the Church of England, nor any dissenting minister, nor any ecclesiastic of the Catholic Church, shall be capable of holding any salaried office in connection with the schools.
3. No master or teacher shall be appointed to any school who has not received a certificate of his qualification from the examiners appointed by the county board, so long as there is a candidate for the vacancy who has received a certificate : unless the county board, on special cause shown to it, shall authorise the school committee to dispense with the certificate.
4. No book shall be admitted into any school which has not first received the sanction of the county board.
5. The course of education recommended by the county board shall be pursued in all the public schools in the county.
As it is of the first necessity to create in the minds of the people a desire for education and a just estimate of its benefits, it shall be the duty of the committees to endeavour to create this desire by communicating personally, or by means of agents, with the parents and guardians of those children who are receiving no education.
6. Each school committee shall furnish to the county board an annual report of the schools under its management, and shall at all times furnish such information as may be required by the board.
7. Each school comm. shall annually publish in a cheap form, for the use of the ratepayers, a statement of all monies received and expended by them, and present a copy of the same to the committee of the hundred and to the county board.
8. School committees shall have power, in special cases, to relax the rule excluding children convicted of crime from the day, evening, or infant schools, and to expel any child for gross insubordination or misconduct.
9. School comms shall have power to appoint a clerk with a salary.

COMMITTEES OF THE HUNDRED

In each hundred a central committee shall be annually elected by the school comms. within the hundred.

In the hundred of—

Leyland	the central comm. shall consist of	6 members
Amounderness,	"	8 "
Blackburn	"	10 "
Salford	"	12 "
Lonsdale	"	12 "
West Derby	"	12 "

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE HUNDRED

1. To unite parishes or townships containing less than 2000 inhabitants into school unions, which unions shall act in every respect as if they were parishes or townships of themselves.

2. If the majority of the ratepayers of any parish or township present at a public meeting, called for that purpose, object to be united with any other parish or township, they shall have the right of appeal from the decision of the comm. of the hundred to the county board.

3. If any parish, township, or school union neglect to establish or support schools, the comm. of the hundred shall levy rates for the purpose, and appoint a school committee for such parish, township, or union.

4. To admonish or dismiss teachers whose conduct is brought under their notice by appeal from the decision of the school comm.

5. The comm. of the hundred shall have power (but it shall not be imperative on them) to establish schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind, and to draw a sum for their support from the school rates of each parish, township, or school union, in proportion to its population.

6. The comm. of the hundred shall form a corporation in which shall be vested the whole school property of the hundred, in order that if the necessity for the maintenance of a school in any parish, township, or school union shall cease, the property may be available to some other place within the hundred. In this corporation may also be vested any other property conveyed or bequeathed for educational purposes within the hundred.

7. The comms. of the hundred shall annually furnish to the county board reports of their proceedings, statements of all monies received and expended by them: and at all times such information as may be required by the board.

8. The comm. of the hundred shall have the power to appoint a clerk, with a salary.

COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

A county board of education shall be established, consisting of twelve persons of whom not more than three shall be members of any one religious denomination. The board shall consist in the first instance of the following persons—viz. [In this place should be inserted the names of the twelve persons composing the first county board.]

Two of the members who have attended the fewest meetings of the board shall retire annually, but may be re-elected. All vacancies shall be filled up by a majority of the votes of the members of all the comms. of hundreds. The board shall elect annually a president. Five members shall form a quorum.

DUTIES AND POWERS OF THE COUNTY BOARD

1. The board shall appoint annually a secretary, at a salary of not less than five hundred nor more than eight hundred pounds per annum. The concurrence of two-thirds of the members present shall be necessary in the appointment of the secretary and inspectors.

2. It shall be necessary for the board to sanction all books before they are admitted into any of the schools; and no book shall receive the sanction of the board which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect. Objections, made in writing by any three members of the board to any book, on the ground that it favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect, shall prevent such book from being introduced into any of the schools.

3. The members of the board, or their secretary, or inspectors, shall have power to enter the public schools, at all times, to examine into the progress made by the scholars, into the course of instruction pursued, and into all matters relating to the management of the schools.

4. It shall be the duty of the board to admonish or dismiss for the first offence, and for the second offence to dismiss, any teacher whose conduct shall be brought under its notice by appeal, and who shall appear to it to have favoured in his teaching any peculiar theological opinions.

5. If any township, parish, or school union shall neglect to establish and support schools, and if the comm. of the hundred in which such parish, township, or school union is situated shall neglect to use the power given them to supply the deficiency, it shall be the duty of the county board to establish schools, to levy rates on such parish, township, or school union for their establishment and support, and to appoint comm. to manage them.

6. The county board shall draw up such a plan of educ. as it shall deem best suited to the four descriptions of public schools, which it shall recommend to the school comms., and it shall be the duty of the board to enforce its adoption.

7. The board shall obtain from the school comms whatever information it may require relating to the condition and management of the schools, and present annually to the two houses of Parliament, and to every school comm., a detailed report of the state of education in Lancashire.

8. The board shall procure as much information as possible of the state of education in this kingdom, on the continent of Europe, and in America, and convey whatever may appear needful to the different school comms.

9. As an incitement to diligence and good conduct on the part of the pupils in the local schools, the county board shall have power to expend two thousand pounds annually in maintaining at the normal school a number of such pupils as shall be reported by the sch. comms to be deserving of such reward, and shall pass through such a course of examination by the public examiners as shall be decided on by the board.

10. The expenses incurred by the board shall be defrayed by the parishes, townships, and unions in proportion to their population.

11. The board shall form a corporation, in which shall be vested the property belonging to the normal schools, and in which may be vested any other property conveyed or bequeathed for the establishment or support of normal schools, colleges, libraries or for any other educational purposes for the use of the county generally.

EXAMINATION OF TEACHERS

1. The county board shall appoint three competent persons to examine candidates for the office of master or teacher.
2. The examiners shall have power to decide on the qualification of candidates, and to grant or refuse certificates accordingly.
3. In order to ensure impartiality in the decisions, the same tests of fitness shall be applied to all applicants for certificates in the same branches of knowledge, and the course of examination shall be laid down by the county board.
4. The time and place at which examiners shall meet for the purpose of examining candidates shall be appointed by the county board, and at least a month's notice previous to any examination shall be given by advertisement in the principal county papers.
5. The county board shall have power to fix the salaries of the examiners at a sum not exceeding pounds each per annum; and every applicant for a certificate shall pay to the board a fee of on registering his name.
6. The certificate shall be the property of the person to whom it is granted, and if delivered up by him to any of the school committees, it shall be returned to him on demand.
7. If any applicant is dissatisfied with the decision of the examiners, he shall have the power of appeal to the county board, which may then grant him a certificate if it think fit.

NORMAL SCHOOLS

1. The county board shall establish and support one or more normal schools for the training of teachers. It shall have power to engage and dismiss teachers, to decide on the course of instruction to be pursued, and on all matters relating to the management of the normal schools.
2. Nothing shall be taught in the normal schools which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect.
3. The county board shall have power to draw from the townships, parishes, and school unions, in proportion to their population, the sums necessary for the erection of buildings for the normal schools. The current expenses shall be defrayed by the pupils, or by the townships, parishes, or school unions for whom the pupils are in training.
4. It shall be optional with the school comms whether they engage teachers who have been educated in the normal schools or not.

NOTE

The popn. of Lancs. in 1841 was 1,666,054, but may at present be considered as 2,000,000. The net rental assessed for the poor-rates in the county of Lancs. for the year ending Lady Day 1841 was £5,266,606— at present it may be taken as £6,000,000. The erection of a school house in every township (464 in number) at an expense of £250 each wd. cost altogether £116,000. A rate of 4½d. (in the pound) wd. raise a sum of £118,750.

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 136-141]

APPENDIX III

MEMBERS OF THE LANCASTER PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

Lancashire Public Schools Association.

Earliest published list of Officers (and Members), March 16, 1848.

President.—Alexander Henry, M.P.

Vice-Presidents.—Richard Alison, jun.; Joseph Brotherton, M.P.; Dr Bowring, M.P.; John Brooks (Manc.); Wm. Chadwick (Rochdale); W. R. Callender (Manc.); C. J. Darbishire (Bolton); J. C. Dyer (Burnage); Wm. Ewart, M.P.; W. J. Fox, M.P. (Oldham); Richard Gardner, M.P.; W. Hargreaves (Milnthorpe); Robt. Heywood (Bolton); Ald. W. M. Harvey (Salford); Philip Lucas; Ald. E. R. Langworthy (Salford); Ald. W. Lockett (Salford); Ald. R. P. Livingstone (Salford); Robt. Munn (Bacup); Wm. Rathbone (L'pool); Absalom Watkin (L'pool); W. B. Watkins (L'pool); Colonel Williams, D.L. (Little Woolton); C. J. S. Walker (Manc.); Rd. Vaughan Yates (L'pool).

The General Committee is particularly interesting:

Chairman.—Samuel Lucas.

Jos. Brotherton, M.P.; Dr Bowring, M.P.; Neil Bannatyne; Jacob Bright, jun.; Rev. J. R. Beard; Thomas Binyon; W. R. Callender; Rev. Dr Davidson; S. D. Darbishire; Francis Éspinasse; Wm. Ewart; Thomas Emmott (Oldham); W. J. Fox, M.P.; H. R. Forrest; Rd. Gardner, M.P.; Alex. Henry, M.P.; W. B. Hodgson; Alex. Ireland; H. J. Leppoc; Geo. Langworthy; E. R. Langworthy; Rev. W. M'Kerrow; J. A. Picton; S. P. Robinson; Saml. Robinson; Salis Schwabe; S. Alfred Steinthal; Absalom Watkin; John Watts; R. V. Yates.

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 154]

APPENDIX IV

REPORT OF THE VERY REV. THE DEAN (G. H. BOWERS)

The Very Rev. the Dean (G. H. Bowers).

Present statistics show subscriptions to Church Edn. Socy and National Society had fallen off, and schools cd. not be adequately helped.

				<i>Ch. Edn Soc.</i>		<i>Nat. Soc.</i>
				<i>Subscriptions</i>	<i>Donations</i>	
1845 .	.	.	.	£860	£1156	£148
1846 .	.	.	.	837	574	92
1847 .	.	.	.	714	54	101
1848 .	.	.	.	£665 and special £310	36	79
1849 .	.	.	.	423	125	76
1850 .	.	.	.	305	131	75
1851 .	.	.	.	201	nil	61
				Now £420 deficit.		

[*Report from the Select Committee,*
P.P. 1852, XI, 202]

APPENDIX V

PROPOSED PETITION OF THE LANCASTER PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

(April 1, 1850)

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain
Humbly sheweth--

That the large amount of intemperance, vice and crime which exists in England and Wales, is to a great extent, owing to prevalent ignorance, and to the main cause of that ignorance--viz. an insufficient and defective provision for proper education.

That as Her Majesty's subjects have long enjoyed the benefits of a large share of self-government, their rights and their habits alike require that parents should have a direct influence in the origination, the maintenance and the direction of the public schools.

That, inasmuch as various forms of opinion in regard to religion prevail in the country, and a large number of persons stand aloof from existing religious communities, freedom from sectarian and denominational peculiarities ought to characterise any new educational enactments.

Your petitioners, in view of these facts, and convictions, earnestly entreat your Honourable House to establish by law a system of education which, excluding all theological doctrines and sectarian influences, supported by local rates assessed on the basis of the Poors Rate, and managed by local authorities specially elected for that purpose by the ratepayers, may afford to all, especially to the untaught and neglected, opportunities free of charge, for a thorough training in useful knowledge, good principles and virtuous habits.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

The following amendment was moved by the Reverend Hugh Stowell:

That your Petitioners are deeply persuaded, in order that Education may be of much value to the country, it must be Christian Education. That it is the duty of the State to provide such Education, and no other, for the children of the poor, in this Christian land, and that we regard with strong disapproval the Bill now before Parliament for providing secular education for the people without at the same time saying it should be Christian in its character.

Your petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to reject that Bill, and to sanction no measure for the furtherance of national education which does not make provision for the moral and

religious as well as the intellectual culture of the children of the poorer classes.

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 76.]

APPENDIX VI

EXCERPT FROM THE MANIFESTO OF THE WORKING MEN OF LONDON

We cannot consent that our children should be apportioned amongst the religious sects--that their plastic minds and nascent judgments should be subjected to an external pressure which would give them a permanent bias toward particular notions. This appears to us to be the very way to foment and cherish those theological distinctions which already so unhappily divide mankind. Religion is intended to prepare men for Heaven, where the society of the blessed will be united in peace and love. Why should it be made on earth the pretext for cutting up the community into sections and separating them from one another by unpronounceable shiboleths? We have now for several years been the spectators of the dispute going on between the denominations on the subject of popular education. We have noticed that they all agree to its urgent and imperative necessity; each party has vied with the others in eloquent descriptions of the frightful conditions of the working classes. We have been called "a multitude of untutored savages," and the places where we dwell have been designated as "great and terrible wildernesses." We have sat still, expecting that the religious denominations, in holy charity and pity for our sufferings, would for once lay their peculiarities, which they themselves confess are not essential to salvation, and agree upon some plan by which the resources of the State might be employed to rescue us from our sinful condition. But we have waited in vain; the controversy has waxed bitter and more furious; our little ones have been forgotten in the fray, and their golden moments have been allowed to run irrevocably to waste.

[*Parl. Debates*, CIX (1850), 41-42.]

APPENDIX VII

TABLE 1

PUBLIC DAY SCHOOLS IN MANCHESTER BOROUGH

Denominations	Number of Schools
Church of England	43 ^a
Wesleyan	6
Independent	6
English Presbyterian	3
Scotch Sessional	2
Free Church	1
Unitarian	5
Society of Friends	2
Swedenborgian	1
Roman Catholic	9
Jews	1
British	6
General	8
Free Grammar	<u>1</u>
Total	94

^aIncludes 14 "National schools."

[*Report from the Select Committee, P.P.,*
1852, XI, Appendix 3.]

APPENDIX VIII

NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

(Important differences in this Draft from the L.P.S.A. Draft)

Abbreviations used: C.B.=County Board, also Cty. Bd.; Sch.=School; Comm.=Committee.

I. *Geographical Divisions.*

1. The division of England and Wales into Counties, and the sub-division of Counties into Parishes and Townships, shall be made use of for the purposes of this system. Municipal Boroughs and Districts governed by local Commissioners shall form separate School Districts, independently of the Parishes of which they may be composed or form a part.
2. Counties containing fewer than inhabitants may be united to an adjoining County or Counties; and Counties containing more than inhabitants may be subdivided.
3. Each County shall contain an Educational System, complete within itself.

NOTE.—The word County is intended to include unions of Counties, and divisions of Counties; and the word District is intended to include Parish, Township, and Borough; and the system is intended for females as well as males. The provisions of this system to be enforced by adequate penalties.

II. *School Authorities.*

The Sch. Auths. shall consist of—

1. Sch. Comms, elected by the ratepayers in each District.
2. County Boards, elected by the Sch. Comms. within the County.
3. Inspectors and other Officers, apptd by the Cty. Boards.
4. Commissioners, apptd by the Crown to secure the establishment of the system.

III. *Appointment of Sch. Comms.*

1. On or before the first day of Oct. in each year, the overseers, mayor, or chief officer of every Sch. District in Eng. and Wales containing inhabitants shall call a public meeting of the ratepayers, to be held within twenty-one days after that date, for the purpose of electing a Sch. Comm., consisting of numbers in proportion to the population.
2. In case the inhabitants shd neglect to attend such meeting, the overseers, mayor, or chief officer shall appt. a Comm. out of the ratepayers of the district.
3. The Sch. Comm. shall be required to establish and support the following four descriptions of Schs, for wh purpose they shall be empowered to levy rates.

- V. 2. The right of admission to the Industrial Schs. shall be by order of a Magistrate.

VI. *Powers and Duties of the Sch. Comms.*

1. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to levy and raise in each sch. district a rate for the purpose of this system, and to require the overseers or borough officers to collect and pay over the same to them after the manner in wh borough rates are laid, raised, and paid.
2. The Sch. Comms. may purchase, lease or hire sch. buildings, and may purchase land, either absolutely, or on chief or ground rent and erect buildings thereon.

3. The Sch. Comms. may purchase, lease or rent existing school-rooms, notwithstanding any trusts or endowments for any specific kind of teaching therein ; provided always that the trustees, managers, or proprietors of the Schs so transferred shall have power to reserve to themselves the sole right to use the buildings for Sunday Schs, and for the purpose of communicating religious instruction in conformity to their respective trust deeds, at such times as they may not be required for the purposes of instruction under this system. (See s. viii. c. 2.)
4. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to let Sch. rooms, for any useful purpose, when they are not occupied for instruction under this system.
5. The Sch. Comms. shall set apart _____ hours in every week, during wh the Schs shall be closed for the purpose of affording an opportunity to the scholars to attend the instructions of the teachers of religion in the various churches and chapels, or other suitable places. No compulsion shall be used to force attendance, nor shall any penalty or disability whatever be imposed for non-attendance, on such religious instruction. (See s. vi. c. 3.)
6. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to engage and dismiss masters and teachers, and to decide on all matters relating to the management of the schs., subject to the following regulations :—
7. No master or teacher shall be apptd to any sch. who has not received a certificate of qualification fr. the examiners apptd by the County Board, so long as there is a candidate for the vacancy who has received a certificate, unless the Cty. Bd, on special cause shown to it, shall authorise the Sch. Comm. to dispense with the certificate.
8. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to article pupil teachers, and apprentice youths to the profession of teaching, and to allow the headmasters remuneration for the same.
9. No course of instruction shall be pursued in any of the schs. but such as is prescribed by the Cty. Bd.
10. Nothing shall be taught in any of the sch. wh favours the peculiar tenets of any sect of Christians ; and, in order that perfect security may be afforded in this respect, any ratepayer or parent shall have the right to complain to the Sch. Comm. of the conduct of any teacher ; and, in case of dissatisfaction in the decision of the Sch. Comm., he shall have the right of appeal to the Cty Bd, and to the Courts of Law and Equity.
11. No book, wh has not first received the sanction of the Cty. Bd, shall be used in any sch. under this system.
12. As it is of the first necessity to create in the minds of the people a desire for education and a just estimate of its benefits, it shall be the duty of the Sch. Comms. to endeavour to create this desire, by communicating personally, or by means of visitors, with the parents and guardians of those children who are receiving no school instruction.
13. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to expel any child for gross insubordination or misconduct ; and in special cases, to relax the rule excluding persons from the day or evening schs.
14. The Sch. Comms. shall furnish to the Cty. Bds. annual reports of the schs under their management, and shall at all times furnish to the Cty. Bds. such information as may be required from them.
15. The Sch. Comms. shall annually publish, in a cheap form, for the use of the ratepayers, statements of all money received and expended by them ; and shall present copies of the same to the Cty. Bds.
16. No Minister of Religion shall be capable of holding any salaried office in connection with the schs.

VII. *County Board of Education.*

1. A Board of education, consisting of twelve persons, shall be elected in every county, one-third of whom shall go out of office annually, but shall be re-eligible. The election shall be made by the votes of the members of the Sch. Comms. within the county.
2. All vacancies shall be filled up in the same manner. The Board shall elect annually a president. Five members shall form a quorum.

VIII. *Duties and Powers of the County Boards.*

1. Each C.B. shall be a corporation, in wh may be invested any property conveyed, transferred, or bequeathed for educational purposes within the County.
2. Trustees selling, leasing, or letting any existing schs, or transferring any existing endowments to the Sch. Comms. or C.Bs for the purposes of this system, shall not be liable to any legal proceedings for so doing.
3. The C.Bs shall unite districts containing fewer than inhabitants, and parts of parishes not included in Boroughs, or districts, to adjoining districts, and thereby to form sch. unions, which unions shall act in every respect as if they were districts of themselves.
4. If any district neglect to establish or support schools, the C.B. shall levy rates for the purpose, and appoint a Sch. Comm. for such district.
5. The C.Bs shall prepare such courses of instruction as they shall deem best suited to the four descriptions of schs, due regard being had to the requirements of diff't localities ; and they shall have power to enforce the adoption of such courses of instruction.
6. It shall be necessary for the C.Bs to sanction all books before they are admitted into any of the schools.
7. In regard to all the books employed in the schs., and in regard to the instruction and discipline therein carried on, the C.Bs shall make and enforce such regulations as shall secure to dissidents and objectors the full rights of conscience.
8. It shall be in the power of the C.Bs to admonish or dismiss any teacher whose conduct shall be brought under their notice by appeal for the decision of any Sch. Comm.
9. The members of the C.Bs, or their secretaries, or inspectors, shall have power to enter the schs. at all times, to examine into the progress made by the scholars, into the course of instruction pursued, and into all matters relating to the management of the schools.
10. The C.Bs shall have power to establish schs. for the deaf, the dumb and the blind, and to draw a sum for their support from the sch. rates of each district, in proportion to the rateable value of its property.
11. As an incitement to diligence and good conduct on the part of the pupils in the schools, the C.Bs shall have power to expend £ annually, in maintaining at the normal schs. a number of such pupils as shall be reported by the Sch. Comms to be deserving of such reward, and who express a desire to become teachers ; provided they pass satisfactorily through such a course of examination, by the examiners, as shall be decided on by the C.Bs.
12. The C.Bs shall obtain from the Sch. Comms. whatever information they may require relating to the condition and management of the schools, and shall present annually to the Commissioners of the Crown, and to every Sch. Comm., a detailed report of the state of education in their respective counties.
13. The expenses incurred by the C.Bs shall be defrayed by the districts, in proportion to the rateable value of their property.
14. Each C.B. shall appoint a Treasurer, Secretary and Inspectors.

IX. *Commissioners of the Crown.*

Immediately after the legislative enactment of this system, Commissioners shall be apptd by the Crown, whose duty it shall be to carry out the provisions of the Act. It shall be also their duty to procure as much information as possible of the state of education in this and other countries, to convey whatever may appear useful to the C.Bs and to present an Annual Report to Parliament. The provisions of this system to be enforced by adequate penalties.

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 141-144]

APPENDIX IX

MARGINAL NOTES OF A BILL

SEPTEMBER, 1850.

MARGINAL NOTES of a BILL to promote and stimulate the education of the people of England and Wales, and to define the office and authority of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, and to render existing Schools more efficient, and to provide for the Repair of School Buildings, and effectually to supplement Voluntary effort in the promotion of Education.

These NOTES are put together to ascertain opinions on the details of a National System of Education, in order that the points of difference may be brought into a smaller compass.

PREAMBLE.—Need of the measure.

CLAUSE I.—(1) Appointment of committee of council on education to carry out this act.

(2) The Lord President of the council to be a member of such committee.

(3) A Vice-President of the committee of council to be appointed.

(4) Such Vice-President to be a member of the House of Commons.

(5) Acceptance of office of Vice-President, by a member of the Privy council having a seat in the House of Commons, not to render his seat vacant.

II.—(1) The committee of council to carry out the provisions of this act, and to administer the parliamentary grants for educational purposes, according to rules and regulations; which they shall make and publish.

(2) Such rules and regulations not to authorise any interference with the instruction, or the internal management or discipline of schools.

III.—(1) The parliamentary grant for educational purposes to be made annually.

(2) The committee of council, by means of such annual grant, to encourage voluntary liberality in erecting and supporting normal schools; and in building and furnishing other schools, and teachers' residences.

IV.—(1) The committee of council to appoint, with consent of Her Majesty, their Secretary, the Inspectors of schools, and other officers,

(2) And, with like consent, to remove such.

(3) Inspectors of church schools not to be appointed or continued, without the concurrence of the Archbishop of the province.

(4) Nor in other schools, without sufficiently authorised sanction.

V.—(1) Inspectors to visit and inspect schools periodically,
 (2) And to report thereon.
 (3) Inspectors' reports to be laid before parliament.
 (4) Inspectors not to interfere with the instruction, or the internal management, or discipline of schools.
 (5) Copies of reports on church schools to be sent by the Inspectors to the Archbishop and Bishop, in whose province and diocese they officiate; and in respect to other schools, to the authorities under whose sanction the Inspectors have been appointed.

VI.—(1) The committee of council to award certificates of merit to masters and mistresses of schools under government inspection,
 (2) And retiring pensions to aged and infirm teachers.

VII.—(1) The committee of council to fix and determine the number of apprentices in any school under government inspection.

(2) To appoint the stipend to be received by apprentices who pass a satisfactory examination.

(3) To fix the number and value of exhibitions, to be paid out of the parliamentary grant, to training schools;—for which apprentices, having completed their apprenticeship, may compete.

(4) The exhibitioners to be called Queen's scholars.

(5) The amount of exhibitions to be applied in aid of studies in training schools, open to the inspection of H. M. Inspectors.

VIII.—(1) The committee of council may promote the establishment of depositories for the sale of school books and school apparatus.

IX.—(1) The committee of council to record their proceedings and to keep an orderly arrangement of all letters and applications.

(2) To lay their record of proceedings before Her Majesty in council,

(3) At least once a year,

(4) And make annually a report to parliament.

X.—(1) All orders, rules, and regulations of the committee of council, before they take effect, to be laid before Her Majesty in council for *forty* days,

(2) And advertised *once* in the *London Gazette*, *twenty* days previously to taking effect.

(3) May be disallowed at any time by Her Majesty in council;

(4) But without prejudice to acts before disallowance.

XI.—(1) All orders, rules, and regulations of the committee of council to be, from time to time, laid before both houses of parliament.

(2) Proviso; regulations affecting the trust deeds of new schools, not to take effect, until they have been laid before both houses for *twenty* days.

XII.—(1) Out of the parliamentary grant for educational purposes, the salaries of officers of committee of council to be paid;

(2) And the stipends of apprentices, and the exhibitions for Queen's scholars,

(3) And the stipends and retiring pensions of teachers,

(4) And all grants for school buildings; and for the establishment of depositories; and the supply of school books, or school apparatus, or furniture.

XIII.—(1) For all other purposes of this act, a school rate to be laid by the Justices of the Peace in general quarter sessions.

(2) On the same assessment as the county rate.

(3) The amount to be regulated by the authority and in the manner hereinafter specified.

(4) To be paid to the County Treasurer,

(5) And be collected and recovered as the county rate;

(6) With like powers of appeal against.

(7) The County Treasurer to keep separate and accurate accounts.

(8) The County Treasurer and other persons employed in collecting the school rate under this act, may be remunerated for their trouble.

XIV.—(1) The Queen, by order in council, to divide the several counties into school districts; and may from time to time combine or subdivide such districts;

(2) And to appoint, according to extent and population, *six* or *nine* persons, to be elected in each district, as the school committee.

(3) Proviso; every corporate city or borough to be constituted a school district.

XV.—(1) In corporate cities or boroughs forming school districts, the council annually to elect the school committee out of their own body.

(2) In other cases, the ratepayers in every school district, with like number of votes as for guardians of the poor, and at the same time, every year, to elect school committee.

(3) Members of school committees, elected by such ratepayers to be themselves ratepayers, assessed for house or other property within the district of not less than *forty* pounds a year.

(4) School committee to elect a Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary.

(5) The Chairman and Treasurer to be chosen from the members of the committee, and not to receive stipend or remuneration.

(6) The Secretary may be paid.

(7) One-third the number of school committee, other than municipal, to retire annually; but to be eligible for re-election.

(8) The first committee of each district to retire in alphabetical order of names.

XVI.—(1) A county board for educational purposes to be formed in each county.

(2) The county board to consist of the High Sheriff, the Members of Parliament, whether for the county or for any borough wholly or in part within the county, the Chairman of quarter sessions for the county, the Mayors of corporations within the county, the County Treasurer, the Clerk of the Peace for the county, and the Chairmen of all school committees within the county.

(3) The county board to appoint a paid Secretary or Secretaries, and *two* Auditors of accounts.

(4) County board to meet in the Shire Hall quarterly at least, and notice of each meeting to be given in writing by the Secretary.

(5) *Seven* members present to form a quorum.

(6) Members not to vote by proxy.

XVII.—(1) County boards and district committees may make bye-laws and special regulations.

(2) Proviso; such bye-laws and regulations not to take effect until approved by the committee of council.

XVIII.—(1) The county board to be a body corporate, with perpetual succession.

(2) The fee-simple of all purchased and devised lands, and of all school buildings, purchased or erected at the expense of the school rate, to be vested in the county board.

XIX.—(1) The county board, with the assistance of the Auditors, to fix the amount of school rate.

(2) Justices to raise the rate on such authority.

(3) All expenditure of district committees, other than sums expressly authorised by this act, to be sanctioned by county board.

(4) All incidental expenses of the county board to be approved by *two-thirds* of the members present, at a duly convened meeting.

XX.—(1) All schools open to the inspection of H. M. Inspectors, may place themselves in union with district committees.

(2) No school, contrary to wish of managers, to be admitted into union.

(3) Terms of union.—i. To employ teachers who have obtained certificates of merit.

ii. To receive into the schools such children as, under the provisions of this act, the district committee may nominate.

iii. Not to compel any such children to learn a creed or formulary, to which the parents or lawful guardians may object.

iv. To keep a register of attendance, absence, and conduct, of such children; and periodically to furnish a copy thereof to the district committee.

(4) Power of the county board to limit the proportion of children, required to be admitted under *the third term* of union.

(5) Schools to be admitted into union from the date of the Manager's forwarding to the Secretary of the district committee, their written assent to the terms of union, and appointing a suitable teacher.

(6) Managers of schools may separate from union, after twelve months' notice; and upon certain conditions, may be re-admitted.

(7) The county board, with consent of the committee of council, may separate schools from union, after like notice.

XXI.—(1) Managers of schools in union to furnish a copy of plan of school building to the district committee.

(2) May, from time to time, apply to district committee for assistance towards keeping the school rooms and school premises in repair and good order; also for enlarging school rooms and extending school premises.

(3) The district committee to inquire into the need of such assistance; and, if necessary, to render assistance according to regulations of the committee of council.

(4) The committee of council may, in certain cases, on the report of their Inspectors, and with the concurrence of the school Managers, order repairs or enlargement of school premises to be made by district committee.

(5) Such order to be imperative.

XXII.—(1) Every juvenile school in union, being a boy's school, to receive from the district committee *seven pounds a year*; or, being a girl's school, *six pounds a year*; and every infant school, or mixed school, to receive *five pounds a year*.

(2) To be paid quarterly,

(3) And applied towards the teachers' salary,

(4) But not in payment of a certificate of merit.

(5) In consideration whereof, the district committee to nominate, at their discretion, *ten* children, to be sent into each of such schools;

(6) To hold free exhibitions for fixed periods therein.

(7) No child having contagious disorder may hold an exhibition.

(8) The parents or lawful guardians of exhibitors to select any school in union with the committee, to which their children shall be sent; but not to vary schools, without sufficient cause, to be approved by the district committee.

(9) Applications for exhibitions to be made to the district committee; or to the Managers of schools in union, and by them to be forwarded to the district committee in a prescribed form.

(10) The periods for holding exhibitions may be extended.

(11) Additional sums of *seven pounds, six pounds, or five pounds*, may be paid to any school in union, when the number of exhibitions therein required by the district committee, exceeds *ten*, or any multiple of *ten*.

(12) The committee of council may authorise a portion of such additional sums to be applied towards the general expenses of the school.

(13) The district committee may at any time cancel an exhibition.

(14) Proviso; no school to receive a larger number of children under this Act, than its capacity, according to the rules of the committee of council, will allow.

(15) Proviso; no school to be compelled, contrary to the wish of the Managers, to admit any children as exhibitors, whose parents are on the poor's rate; or to retain children of immoral habits.

(16) Guardians of the poor may admit into accessible district union schools the children of persons receiving out-door parochial relief; and with the united consent in writing of the Poor Law Inspector of the district, and H. M. Inspector of parochial union schools, but only during such consent, into workhouse schools.

XXIII.—(1) The National Society, the British and Foreign School Society, the Diocesan and all other educational societies, in operation within the county, to be admitted into correspondence with the county board.

XXIV.—(1) District committees to report to the county board, any local want of accessible school room within their districts.

(2) Such report to contain the amount of population within the locality, a list of nearest accessible schools, and the probable proportion of persons of different religious denominations.

(3) The county board to forward a copy of such report to the committee of council, and to all educational societies in correspondence.

(4) At the expiration of *sixty days*, the committee of council to inform county board what arrangements, if any, are in progress for providing the required school room, by the assistance of any of the educational societies.

(5) If at expiration of *sixty days*, there be no prospect of adequate provision being otherwise made, the committee of council to direct further inquiry into the alleged want of school accommodation; and, if necessary, to authorise the county board to erect or provide the accommodation required. Proviso; no school to be so erected, and no land to be purchased without the sanction of the committee of council.

(6) The district committee to appoint annually the managing committee of a school so provided.

(7) Such school to be under the same regulations, in respect to exhibitions, as all other schools in union.

(8) Proviso; the district committee may, for a limited period, guarantee the teacher's salary.

(9) Proviso; religious instruction in schools so erected, always to be provided for; and in such form, as to the committee of council may appear required by the majority of persons in the district.

(10) Acts respecting school sites and government grants, to apply to this act; 4 and 5 Vic., c. 38; 7 and 8 Vic., c. 37.

(11) The district committee may rent lands for fields or gardens; or rent workshops; to be common to any number of schools in union.

(12) The management of such field, garden, or workshop, to be with the district committee.

(13) H. M. Inspectors of schools may report want of school room to county board.

(14) In certain cases, and under published regulations, committee of council may order county board to erect or provide schools.

XXV.—(1) County board to appoint, subject to approval of the committee of council, Examiners for schools in union.

(2) The most advanced scholars in each school in union, to be sent annually for examination, at such time, and to such place or places within the district, as the Examiners shall appoint.

(3) Certificates and rewards, to be given to deserving children by the district committee.

(4) Such rewards may, in certain instances, be given to the children in clothing, or in meals at school.

(5) The first class, in the class lists after examination, to be advertised in local newspapers.

(6) No children to be eligible for examination, without producing a certificate of good conduct signed by the school teacher, and countersigned by the Managers of the school.

(7) Attendance at the annual religious examination voluntary, and to be determined by the wish of the parents or lawful guardians.

(8) The county board may authorise Examiners, under certain regulations, to examine the children educated in self-supporting commercial and middle schools; on application of the principals thereof.

XXVI.—(1) The district committee, with consent of county board, may assist Managers of schools in establishing and supporting evening schools.

(2) May, with like consent, establish exhibitions to schools of design, or schools of practical science.

(3) May, also with like consent, offer for competition rewards to evening scholars, or to exhibitioners or other scholars in schools of design, or schools of practical science.

XXVII.—(1) This act not to authorise district committees to nominate boys and girls as exhibitioners in the same school;—unless in established mixed schools.

(2) Not to interfere with provisions of trust deeds of any school, in respect to children admitted under such trust deed.

(3) Proviso; additional children may be admitted under the provisions of this act, notwithstanding any provisions in trust deeds respecting children otherwise admitted.

(4) This act to bar any bill in equity against the trustees or managers of endowed or other schools, for admitting children under this act.

XXVIII.—(1) All expenses authorised by this act to be paid out of the school rate, except such as are otherwise provided for.

(2) The annual balance sheet of the receipts and expenditure of the school rate, with report thereon by the auditors, to be furnished to the members of the several district committees; and an abstract thereof, in a prescribed form, to be published at a fixed period in the *London Gazette*.

XXIX.—(1) Complaints or appeals against district committees to be made to county board.

(2) District boards may appeal from county board to committee of council, whose decision is final.

XXX.—Interpretation clause.

XXXI.—This act not to apply to Ireland or Scotland.

XXXII.—May be amended or repealed this session.

[Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 102-107]

APPENDIX X

THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL (SUB-COMMITTEE)

(January 6, 1851)

Chairman, William Entwisle, Esq.* [Established Church]
Vice-Chairman, S. Fletcher, Esq.*
Honorary Secretary, John Peel, Esq.† [Established Church?]
Committee:
The Very Rev. the Dean of Manchester
Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, Bart.
Rev. Canon Stowell [Established Church]
Rev. G. H. G. Anson [Established Church]
Rev. W. Birley
Rev. C. Richson [Established Church]
Rev. Dr. Errington‡ [Roman Catholic]
Rev. J. Gwyther
Rev. G. Osborn [Wesleyan]
Rev. J. L. Poore
Rev. J. E. Robberds
Rev. W. Turner‡ [Roman Catholic]
Richard Birley
Thomas Binyon [Member N.P.S.A.]
Robert Brandt
T. P. Bunting [Wesleyan Methodist]
W. R. Callendar [Established Church. Member of N.P.S.A.]
C. E. Cawley [Established Church]
G. R. Chappell
T. Clegg
Wm. Gibb
Robert Gladstone [Established Church]
Thomas Greig
Robert Hampson
J. C. Harter [Established Church]
Stephen Heelis
Oliver Heywood [Established Church]
R. J. Jones [Established Church]
E. R. Longworthy [Member N.P.S.A.]
Wm. Leeming‡ [Roman Catholic]
Daniel Maude [Established Church]
Wm. Medcalf
Alderman Shuttleworth

J. A. Turner

Alderman Walker

*Elected to these offices by the committee, subsequently to the meeting.

†Elected by the meeting.

†The Roman Catholic gentlemen did not attend the meeting of this committee.

[Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 69.]

APPENDIX XI

THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION COMMITTEE

(February 19, 1851)

Chairman, William Entwisle
Vice-Chairman, Samuel Fletcher
Treasurer, Oliver Heywood
Honorary Secretary, John Peel
The Very Reverend the Dean of Manchester
The Worshipful The Mayor of Salford
Sir J. P. Shuttleworth, Bart.

Rev. Canon Clifton	Robt. Barbour	<i>R. J. Jones</i>
<i>Rev. Canon Stowell</i>	<i>Robt. Brandt</i>	<i>E. R. Longworthy</i>
<i>Rev. G. H. G. Anson</i>	<i>T. P. Bunting</i>	<i>William Leeming</i>
<i>Rev. W. Birley</i>	<i>W. R. Callendar</i>	<i>J. H. Leresche</i>
Rev. H. W. McGrath	<i>C. E. Cowley</i>	<i>Danl. Maude</i>
<i>Rev. C. Richson</i>	<i>G. R. Chappell</i>	John Mayson
* <i>Rev. Dr. Errington</i>	<i>Thos. Clegg</i>	<i>William Medcalf</i>
Rev. Richard Fletcher	H. Fleming	Joseph Pollock
<i>Rev. J. Gwyther</i>	John Fernley	John Robertson
Rev. C. Hoydon	Robt. Gardner	Malcolm Ross
Rev. John Kirk	Chas. Gibson	William Slater
<i>Rev. George Osborn</i>	<i>William Gibb</i>	<i>Alderman Shuttleworth</i>
<i>Rev. J. L. Poore</i>	<i>Robt. Gladstone</i>	Nathaniel Shelmerdine
<i>Rev. J. G. Robberds</i>	<i>Thos. Greig</i>	<i>J. A. Turner</i>
Rev. W. H. Taylor	<i>Robt. Hampson</i>	Edward Tootal
* <i>Rev. W. Turner</i>	<i>J. C. Harter</i>	<i>Alderman Walker</i>
Rev. E. D. J. Wilks	<i>Stephen Heelis</i>	Peter Wood, M.D.
Robt. Barnes	<i>F. C. Hulton</i>	Charles H. Minchin, Acting Sec.

Committee Rooms, No. 4, York Hotel Buildings, Manchester

*These gentlemen withdrew after a few attendances. Both are now Roman Catholic bishops. [Names in italics were members of the sub-committee.]

[Richson, *A Sketch of Some Causes*, 73.]

APPENDIX XII

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL

A Bill for promoting Education in the Municipal Boroughs of Manchester and Salford, and in the contiguous Townships of Broughton, Pendleton, and Pendlebury, read a first time in the House of Commons in the Session of 1851-52.

WHEREAS the boroughs of Manchester and Salford, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, have been respectively incorporated, under the authority of the statutes in that behalf, and it is advisable to make provision for furthering and improving the education of the inhabitants within such boroughs and the adjoining townships of Broughton, Pendleton, and Pendlebury, by means of local rates to be raised within the same: May it therefore please your Majesty, That it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows (that is to say):

Constitution of the District Committees.

1. *Constitution of the District School Committees for the Boroughs of Manchester and Salford.* — That for the purposes of this Act, the district comprised within the borough of Manchester and that comprised within the borough of Salford, with the adjoining townships of Broughton, Pendleton, and Pendlebury, shall form separate School Districts, each of which shall be managed and regulated by a committee hereinafter designated the District School Committee, and all the provisions herein contained shall apply to each district separately, except where it is otherwise expressly provided.

2. *The Town Councils to elect the District School Committees annually.* — The town council of the borough of Manchester shall, on the tenth day of November, in each year, or within fourteen days afterwards, elect out of the members of the said council nine persons, to act as the members of the School Committee for the Manchester Borough School District during the ensuing year; and the town council of the borough of Salford shall, on the same day, or within fourteen days afterwards, in each year, elect out of the members of the said council six persons to act with the persons elected for the said townships, as hereinafter provided, as the members of the said School Committee for the Salford School District during the ensuing year.

3. *Election of Members of the Committee in respect of the Townships of Broughton, Pendleton, and Pendlebury.* — On the same day, or within fourteen days after, a meeting of the rate-payers, qualified to vote in the election of Guardians of the Poor for the respective townships of Broughton, Pendleton, and Pendlebury, shall be held in the several townships, after notice given in the same manner and by the same persons as notices of township meetings are usually given therein; and the rate-payers so qualified as aforesaid shall then elect for their township a person or persons, as the case may be, qualified as hereinafter provided, to be a member or members of the School Committee of the Salford District, so that one shall be elected by the rate-payers of the township of Broughton, for that part of the township which is not comprised in the borough of Salford, two by the rate-payers of the township of Pendleton for their township, and one by the rate-payers of the township of Pendlebury for their township, and at such meetings the overseers, or, if they decline, some person to be then and there chosen by the rate-payers present, shall preside.

4. *Qualification of such Member.* — Every person not in holy orders, or a minister or preacher of religion, assessed to the poor-rate within the township,

upon property whose rateable value shall not be under thirty pounds a year, shall be qualified to be elected by the rate-payers thereof as a member of the said School Committee for such township, and the member elected shall be required to be so qualified as long as he continues to be a member of such Committee.

5. *Return of the Member.*—The officer or person presiding at such meeting who shall conduct the election of such member or members, as the case may be, shall, when the election shall have been concluded, return, in writing, to the District School Committee the person or persons elected.

6. *Term of the continuance in Office of the Members of the Committee.*—Every person elected by the town council or rate-payers shall continue to act during the year for which he shall have been elected as a member of such School Committee, until he shall resign, die, or become disqualified to be a town councillor or member as aforesaid; and upon the happening of any vacancy, the town council of which he shall have been a member, or the rate-payers of the township for which he was elected, as the case may be, shall, as soon as convenient, elect another person to supply the vacancy during the remainder of the year.

7. *Default of Election not to affect the acting of the Committee.*—No default in the election, nor any vacancy, shall prevent the other members of the School Committee from acting as such Committee until the next annual election, or until the vacancy shall be sooner supplied.

8. *Course to be pursued where there is any Defect in the Election.*—If there be no due election at the time of the annual election in respect of all the members of the School Committee, such of the members elected for the previous year, as shall be qualified as aforesaid, may, if they think fit, serve for the ensuing year; and where some have been duly elected, such of the members of the said Committee, who had served for the last year and continue to be qualified, as shall be chosen by the member or members elected for the current year to fill the vacancies, shall act for the ensuing year.

Proceedings of the Committees.

9. *Appointment of Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Committee.*—On the first day of meeting of the said District School Committee after the annual election, the members present thereat shall choose some one of themselves to be the chairman, and another to be the vice-chairman of such Committee, for the ensuing year respectively, each of whom shall continue to act as such, unless and until he refuse, become incapable to act, or disqualified to be a member of the said Committee.

10. *Supply of Vacancies in the Chairmanship and Vice-Chairmanship.*—If the chairman or vice-chairman cease to be a member of the District School Committee, or refuse or become incapable to act as chairman or vice-chairman before the expiration of the year of office, the members of the said Committee shall, within one month after the occurrence of the vacancy, refusal, or incapacity, elect some other member to be chairman or vice-chairman, as the case may require.

11. *Who shall be the President of the Committee.*—At every meeting the chairman, or in his absence the vice-chairman, shall preside; but if at the commencement of any meeting both be absent, the members then present shall elect one of themselves to preside at the whole of such meeting, or until the chairman or vice-chairman shall arrive.

12. *What shall be the Quorum of the Committee -- what Number required to sanction Expenses.*—No meeting of the Committee shall be competent to transact any business, except that of adjourning to another time, unless three members be present; and no resolution shall be valid for the incurring of any expense other than payment of the school fees, and the salaries and remuneration of the inspectors and teachers in this act provided, unless two-thirds of the members present at the meeting at which the incurring of the expense shall be proposed concur therein.

13. *Mode of voting at the Committee. -- Casting Vote.*—Every question at any meeting, except in respect of the incurring of such expenses as aforesaid, shall be determined by a majority of the votes of the members present and voting thereon; and where the number of votes on any question shall be equal, the presiding chairman shall have a second as a casting vote.

14. *Appointment of Officers by the District School Committee.*—The District School Committee may appoint, suspend, and remove at their discretion a secretary, and such clerks, assistants, and servants as they may from time to time find necessary, with such salaries, wages, and compensation for ordinary and extraordinary services as the said Committee shall deem fit, which salaries, wages, and compensation shall be charged upon and paid out of the fund hereinafter provided.

15. *The District School Committee may make Bye-Laws—Proviso for approval by the Committee of Council.*—The District School Committee may make bye-laws and regulations for the government of themselves, their officers, and servants, and for the due execution of the different provisions of this Act, so far as the same shall be under the control or management of such Committee; provided that no such bye-law or regulation shall be valid and operative until the same shall have been submitted to the Committee of Council on Education for the time being, and shall have been approved of by them.

16. *Minutes of the Committee made Evidence.*—The said District School Committee shall cause Minutes of their proceedings to be entered in a book to be kept by their secretary; and the book so kept, when produced by their secretary, or by any other officer of the said Committee, in any court of law, or before any justice or justices, or other competent tribunal, shall be taken as evidence of the proceedings of the said Committee therein recorded.

Union of the Schools with the Committee.

17. *Functions of the District School Committee.*—It shall be the duty of the said District School Committee to receive Schools into union with them according to the regulations of this Act, to pay the School fees to the persons entitled to receive them, and in all other respects to carry into effect the provisions of this Act, so far as the same apply to such Committee.

18. *Trustees, Managers, or Proprietors empowered to place School in Union.*—As soon as the said District School Committee shall have been elected, and from time to time afterwards, the major part of the trustees, managers, or proprietors of any such School as is hereinafter described, situated within the district, which shall be open to Her Majesty's Inspector, or to the Local Inspectors appointed under the authority of this Act, and wherein any teacher shall be employed who shall have obtained a certificate of merit from the Committee of Council on Education, or in default of any such certificate of merit, a certificate in writing, from some one of Her Majesty's Inspectors acting in the district or of such Local Inspectors as aforesaid, of the competency of such teacher to conduct the School, may make application, in writing, according to the form set forth in the Schedule (A.) hereto annexed, to the said District School Committee, to be admitted into union therewith, and shall transmit with such application a copy of the teacher's certificate of merit, or the Inspector's certificate of the teacher's competency, as the case may require; and such Committee shall forthwith, upon receipt thereof, ascertain whether the School be admissible into union according to the provisions of this Act, and if the same be so admissible, shall admit such School into union with them, and shall cause an entry of such admission to be made in the minutes of their proceedings, and a notification of such admission, in writing, under the hand of their secretary, to be transmitted to the trustees, managers, or proprietors of the School, as the case may be; and when the School shall have been admitted into union, whether by the said District School Committee, at once, or after appeal, as hereinafter provided, such union shall be deemed to have been complete from the date on which the trustees, managers, or proprietors of such School shall have duly transmitted the required certificate to the secretary of the District School Committee; and if the said Committee shall be of opinion that the said School is not so admissible, they shall forthwith communicate to the persons making the application that they decline to admit the said School into union, and shall state their reasons for such refusal in writing.

19. *Appeal from Refusal of Admission to the Committee of Council on Education.*—When the said District School Committee shall decline, upon any such application as aforesaid, to admit any School into union, the persons who shall have

made such application may appeal to the Committee of Council on Education against such decision, forwarding a copy of the reasons assigned by such District School Committee for their so declining; and the said Committee of Council shall thereupon investigate the merits of the case; and if they shall decide that the refusal was justified by the provisions of this Act, the same shall be confirmed; but if they shall decide that it was not so justified, and that the said School should have been admitted into such union, they shall communicate such their decision to the said District School Committee, and thereupon the said School shall be forthwith admitted into union, and shall become entitled to all the advantages of this Act, as if the same had been admitted by the District School Committee at the time of the application.

20. *No School to be united without Consent of the major part of Trustees.—School Committee may act upon the Application purporting to be signed by Majority.—Proviso.*—No School shall be admitted into union without the consent of the major part of the trustees, managers, or proprietors, as the case may be, of such School; but it shall be sufficient authority for the said District School Committee, with reference to any act done by them or by their direction in regard to such School, if the application to them purport to be signed by the major part of the trustees, managers, or proprietors; and it shall not be necessary for such Committee to inquire whether the persons whose names are thereunto affixed be duly and legally qualified to act in such behalf: Provided nevertheless that the said Committee shall reject any such application where they shall be satisfied that it is not made by a majority of the persons so legally qualified: Provided also that if it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the said District School Committee, at any time after the School shall have been admitted into union, that the application had been made under false and wilful misrepresentations or with the wilful suppression of any fact or circumstance, to such an extent that the School would not have been admitted by them into union but for such misrepresentations or suppression, the said School Committee may make an entry on their minutes that the School is no longer in union, and shall forthwith cause a notification thereof in writing, under the hand of their secretary, to be transmitted to the trustees, managers, or proprietors of the School, as the case may be, and the said School shall thereupon cease to be entitled to the benefits of this Act, unless and until, upon a fresh application, it shall be duly admitted into Union.

21. *Application if unsuccessful may be renewed.*—No refusal to admit any School into union, whether confirmed by the said Committee of Council or otherwise, shall prevent the admission thereof into union, if an application be duly made on behalf of the same School at any time after such refusal, and the School shall upon such subsequent application be admissible, according to the provisions of this Act.

22. *The Proceedings of Trustees not to be impeachable in Law or Equity.*—No act of the trustees or managers of any such School or the major part of them, in placing it in union with the said Committee, shall be deemed in any court of law or equity to be a breach of trust, or require the sanction or direction of any such court.

23. *Provision for the Change of Schemes of Management.—Proviso.*—In the case of every School admitted or proposed to be admitted into union with the said District School Committee, where, by the terms of the deed of conveyance or trust, the trustees, managers, or other persons entrusted with the management of the School, are eligible, by or out of the subscribers to the said School, the major part of the trustees of the said School, or in default of their taking the requisite steps for three months after the admission of such School into union, any ten persons, being then subscribers to the said School, or in default of there being so many subscribers, any ten persons who may have been subscribers thereto within the space of three years previous to their application, may prepare a new scheme for the election of a Committee to manage the said School, and having settled the same in writing, may summon a meeting of the subscribers to the said School, if there be any such, or, in their default, of the persons who shall have been subscribers thereto during the time aforesaid, by an advertisement in two or more newspapers circulating in the said district, ten days at least previous to the day of meeting; and at such meeting may submit the scheme to such of the persons as shall be then present; and if the majority of the subscribers, or of the persons

who shall have been subscribers during the time aforesaid, present at the meeting, assent thereto, the same shall be transmitted to the Committee of Council on Education for their approval, and in default of there being any such ten subscribers or persons as aforesaid, the minister or ministers, and church or chapel wardens, or other persons having the superintendence or control of the funds of any church, chapel, or other public place of worship, with which any such School shall be connected, may prepare and settle such scheme, and having advertised as aforesaid their intention to do so, may transmit it to the Committee of Council for approval, and if the said Committee of Council approve of the scheme, a memorandum of the same shall be prepared, and shall be signed by the major part of the persons who shall have prepared and settled the same, and shall be countersigned by the secretary of the said Committee of Council, or some other officer of such Committee on their behalf, in testimony of their approval of the scheme, and where there shall be any deed of conveyance or trust as aforesaid, the memorandum shall, if practicable, be endorsed thereon; and the said scheme shall take effect and be acted upon in the future election of the managers or trustees of the said School, as soon as the next vacancy in the then Committee of Management shall occur; and the managers appointed under such new scheme shall be authorized to act in all respects in the execution of the authorities given by this Act to the trustees or managers of any School: Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall prevent or interfere with the trustees, managers, or other persons entrusted with the management of the said School, making any application to the Court of Chancery which they may think proper, to sanction a scheme or schemes for securing the election of future trustees or managers; and provided that any such scheme so sanctioned and ordered by the said Court shall take effect and be acted upon in like manner as any other scheme framed and sanctioned under the provisions hereinbefore contained.

24. *Schools admissible to the Parliamentary Grant may be admitted into Union.*—And whereas the lords of the Committee of Council on Education have from time to time made and published divers minutes, which have been printed and laid before the Houses of Parliament by her Majesty's command, in which they have prescribed certain rules and regulations now in force, according to which Schools have been or can be admitted to partake in some one or all of the benefits arising from the annual grants made by Parliament for the promotion of Education, be it therefore enacted, That every School now situated or hereafter to be established within the said district, which, at the time of the making of such application as aforesaid, shall have been or might be permitted, in pursuance of some one or more of the minutes above referred to, to partake in any of such benefits, shall be entitled to be admitted into union with the said District School Committee, if such application, accompanied with the certificate aforesaid, be made as hereinbefore prescribed.

25. *Certain Schools not permitted to participate in the Parliamentary Grant only because Inspection is refused, admissible into Union.*—Any School situated in the said district in which, at the time of making such application, the trustees, managers, or proprietors decline to allow the inspection thereof by her Majesty's Inspector, but which would be permitted to partake of any such benefit as aforesaid, under some one or more of the minutes above referred to, if the same were open to such inspection, shall nevertheless be admitted by the said District School Committee into union with them, if due application be made according to the provisions herein contained, and if the same be open to the inspection of the Local Inspectors herein provided.

26. *What Schools held under Places of Worship may be admitted.*—Any School situated as aforesaid conducted in a room under a place of religious worship, or in any building contiguous or adjoining to such place, if permissible to partake in such parliamentary grant in every other respect, shall be admitted into union with the said District School Committee, upon application being duly made as aforesaid, if the Secretary of such Committee, and some surveyor to be appointed by such Committee, shall certify in writing that such room or building is suitable for the purposes of such School, and the same be open to the inspection of such Local Inspectors as aforesaid.

27. *Provision for certain other Schools.*—Any School situated as aforesaid which cannot be permitted to partake of the benefit of such grant under any one of such

minutes as aforesaid, although the trustees, managers, or proprietor shall not decline to allow an inspection thereof by her Majesty's Inspector, in which School the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the authorized version is part of the daily instruction of the scholars therein, shall be admitted into such union, upon application being duly made as aforesaid, if the secretary of the said District School Committee, and some surveyor to be appointed by such Committee, shall certify in writing that such room or building is suitable for the purposes of such School, and the same be open to the inspection of such Local Inspectors as aforesaid.

28. *No other School to be admissible.*—No School not qualified in some one of the modes herein described shall be admitted into such union.

Proceedings after Union.

29. *The School in Union a Free School under this Act.*—Every School admitted into such union, under any of the provisions herein contained, shall be a Free School within the meaning of this Act, and shall be open to the reception of such scholars as shall be registered in the manner hereinafter mentioned, who shall be taught therein free of all charge: Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall prevent the distribution of any part of the grant made by Parliament for the promotion of Education, to any School admitted into union with the said Committee under the provisions of this Act, or to any scholar, pupil, or teacher therein.

30. *A Register of the Scholars to be kept.*—*The Secretary of the Committee to be admitted to inspect the Register.*—When any School shall be admitted into such union a register, showing the attendance or absence of each scholar, shall be kept by the trustees, managers, or proprietors of the said School, or by the teacher thereof; and a copy of such register shall be transmitted to the said District School Committee, at such periods as the said Committee shall from time to time appoint; and the secretary or other officer appointed by the said Committee, by writing under the hand of their chairman or vice-chairman, shall be admitted into the said school at all reasonable times to ascertain the correctness of the said register; and if the school be not a school for children under the age of six years, a certificate in writing, according to the form in the Schedule (B.), hereunto annexed, signed by the teacher, or, if there be more than one, by the principal teacher of said school, and countersigned by an inspector who shall have inspected the said school, shall be sent by the trustees, managers, or proprietors, as the case may be, or by the teacher under their direction, to the said District School Committee, once every year, at such time as they shall appoint; certifying that the general instruction of the children thereat includes reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, English history, and the elements of geography; and, in the case of a girl's school, plain needlework.

31. *Attendance of Scholars in special cases not compulsory; but no Interference with the Management, Discipline, or Instruction of the School.*—No child attending any school so admitted into union as aforesaid shall be required by the trustees, managers, proprietors, or teachers thereof to learn, therein or elsewhere, any distinctive religious creed, catechism, or formulaary to which the parents or surviving parent, or the person having the care and maintenance of such child, shall in some writing signed by him or her, or with his or her mark attested by a witness, addressed to the managers, trustees, proprietors, or teachers thereof, object; or to attend or to abstain from attending any particular Sunday school or place of religious worship, contrary to the wishes of such parents, parent, or person, to be declared in some such writing as aforesaid: Provided always, that (except as in this Act is expressly enacted) the District School Committee shall not interfere with the management, discipline, religious or other instruction in any such school, but that such management, discipline, religious and other instruction in every such school shall continue under the control and regulation of the trustees, managers, or proprietors thereof, as fully as if this Act had not passed; except in the case where the managers thereof shall be changed as hereinbefore provided.

32. *The Conditions imposed by the Committee of Council to be performed to enable*

School to receive the Benefits of this Act. — If any School shall have been admitted into union, on the ground of its being permitted by the Committee of Council to participate in any of the benefits of the said grant, upon any condition set forth in any minute as aforesaid, made and published before the passing of this Act, every such condition shall continue to be duly performed to enable such School to enjoy the benefits of this Act.

33. *Union to be dissolved on Breach of Conditions.* — In any School so admitted if any condition of admittance into union in this Act specified, or any regulation herein prescribed for the guidance of the same, be broken or disregarded by the trustees, managers, or proprietors thereof, as the case may be, or if, where no sufficient provision exists for the election of a succession of trustees, managers, or other persons to be entrusted with the management of such school, at the time of the admission of such school into union, no such provision be made within six months after that time, and no proceedings in Chancery, or in the said Committee of Council, shall be pending for securing such provision, the District School Committee may declare the union of such school with them to be dissolved; but the same shall not be dissolved until the said Committee shall have transmitted a notice in writing of the proposed dissolution, under the hand of their secretary, to the trustees, managers, or proprietors thereof, as the case may be, and no such notice shall be given after the lapse of six months from the breach of any such condition, or any such default as aforesaid, unless the said breach or default shall continue, and when the said union shall be dissolved, the said school shall cease to be entitled to any of the benefits of this Act from the time of such notice being given as aforesaid.

34. *Appeal against Dissolution.* — The trustees, managers, or proprietors, as the case may be, of any school, the union of which shall have been so dissolved, may within three months after receiving such notice of dissolution, make an appeal in writing, purporting to be signed by the major part of the trustees, managers, or proprietors assembled at a meeting called for the purpose of considering such appeal, to the Committee of Council, against the decision of the said District School Committee; and the said Committee of Council may, if they so think proper, receive such appeal and investigate the same, and confirm or reverse such decision of the said District School Committee, according as the merits of the case may require; and if they shall decide that the union ought not, under the provisions of this Act, to have been dissolved, such School shall be deemed to have continued in union, notwithstanding the said decision of the District School Committee; and if they confirm the decision of the said Committee, the dissolution shall continue.

35. *After Dissolution, fresh Application may be made.* — Notwithstanding any such dissolution, it shall be competent for the trustees, managers, or proprietors, on any subsequent occasion, to make a fresh application for the School to be received into union; and provided it would be then admissible, if the application were made for the first time, it shall be admitted into union accordingly.

Registering Committees.

36. *Appointment of Registering Committee.* — *Proviso.* — The said District School Committee shall, at their first meeting after every annual election, select out of themselves four members, and the trustees, managers, or proprietors, as the case may be, of each School admitted into union, shall from time to time as occasion may require, elect one person as a representative member; and such four selected members, together with every such representative member, shall form a Committee of the said district for the registration of scholars, to be termed the Registering Committee, any three of whom shall form a quorum, whose duty it shall be to meet from time to time, at least once in every month, in some convenient place, of which public notice, by an advertisement in some newspaper circulating within the district, shall have been previously given, by or on behalf of such Committee, and to keep registers of the Schools in union with the said Committee within their district, and of the scholars thereat, and to receive and decide upon the application, which shall be made in writing, according to a form to be prescribed by the said School Committee, of any child being above the age of four

years, and residing within the district, or of its parent or parents, or other person having the care and maintenance thereof, for the reception of such child into some School in the said district; such child or its parent, or other such person as aforesaid, attending in person to make the application; and enter the name of such child in the register kept by them, with reference to the School selected by such child, parent, or other person: Provided, that the said Registering Committee shall not require the reception into any School of a child deaf, dumb, blind, idiotic or of unsound mind.

37. *The Registering Committee to send Children to the Schools.—Trustees to receive the Child, provided they have room.—Proviso for Dismissal of Scholars for Misconduct.*—The said Registering Committee shall direct the trustees, managers, or proprietors of the Schools selected by the said applicant to receive such child, so registered as aforesaid, into such School, and the trustees, managers, or proprietors thereof shall receive such child accordingly, and cause the same to be instructed as a scholar of such School: Provided that their School be at the time capable of receiving the child after allowing a space of not less than six square feet to each scholar then being therein: Provided also, that the trustees, managers, or proprietors may dismiss from the said School any child so sent as aforesaid who shall not attend at the same School during such period as, according to the usual School hours in the district, would constitute three days and a half day in each week, or who shall be affected with any sickness or disease calculated to cause injury to the other scholars in the said School; or whom they shall deem guilty of any insubordination or other misconduct calculated to interfere with the discipline of the School; and the said trustees, managers, or proprietors shall not be compelled to readmit the same child into their School, unless in the case of a child previously affected with any sickness or disease as aforesaid who shall be wholly cured.

38. *Registering Committee may change the School.*—The said Registering Committee may at any time, upon application in writing, according to a form to be prescribed by the District School Committee, remove the child or its parent or parents, or other person as aforesaid, and after the lapse of one month from the date of such application, or within that period, upon satisfactory cause being shown to them, remove the name of such child from their register of any School to their register of any other School within their district, and may direct the trustees, managers, or proprietors thereof to receive such child, who shall, subject to the same conditions as in the case of an original application, be received accordingly.

39. *Division of Registering Districts.—Proviso for altering Division.*—And whereas it may be found expedient to divide the School District among two or more Registering Committees, the District School Committee may therefore make such division accordingly, and prescribe the number of Schools in union with such Committee as herein provided, being not less than five in the district, to be comprised within each division, and nominate one member at least from such District School Committee to each subdivision, who, together with the representative members, elected as before mentioned, of the several Schools comprised within the Division Registration District, and in union with the District School Committee, shall form the Registering Committee of the division: Provided that the said District School Committee may from time to time vary any division by increasing or diminishing the number of the Schools in union with them as aforesaid to be comprised therein, and adding thereto or taking therefrom any such School as they shall deem fit.

40. *Duties of the Division Registering Committee.*—Every such Division Registering Committee shall receive the applications and proceed therewith in manner aforesaid, with reference to children, in regard to whom application shall be made to them, and shall register such children to be sent to Schools within their own division only.

41. *Supply of Vacancies in the Registering Committees.*—Upon the occurrence of any vacancy in the members of the Registering Committee, whether divided or not, the same shall be filled up by the election of another person, according to the manner hereinbefore prescribed; and in the meantime the remaining members of the said Committee may act as fully and effectually as if no such vacancy had occurred.

42. *District School Committee to appoint Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Registering Committees.—Casting Vote.*—The said District School Committee shall

annually, out of the Registering Committee or the Division Registering Committees, nominate some member thereof, whether selected or representative, to be the chairman, and another to be the vice-chairman of such Registering or Division Registering Committee, and shall appoint another chairman or vice-chairman, as the case may require, upon the occurrence of any vacancy during the year; and in case of an equality of votes upon any question, arising in such Committee, the chairman then presiding shall have a second as a casting vote.

43. *District School Committee to supply Schools with forms of Application, and the Registering Committee with every thing requisite.*—The said District School Committee shall cause the trustees, managers, or proprietors of all the Schools in union with them, to be constantly supplied with an adequate number of printed applications for the use of children desiring to be admitted into such School, in the form which the said Committee shall prescribe; and every Registering Committee and Division Registering Committee, as the case may be, shall be supplied with all requisite books, materials, and assistants by the District School Committee, to enable them adequately to discharge the duties herein imposed upon them, and all the necessary expenses of such Registering Committees shall be chargeable, as the other expenses of the Act, upon the fund herein provided.

Payment of the Fees.

44. *List of Scholars to be made out by the Trustees or Managers quarterly, and transmitted to Committee, with Certificate.*—At the end of every quarter of the year, ending on the twenty-fifth day of March, twenty-fourth day of June, twenty-ninth day of September, and the twenty-fifth day of December, the major part of the trustees, managers, or proprietors, as the case may be, of every School in union with the said District School Committee, shall make out a list of the scholars entered in the register kept in their School, and set out the number of weeks during the quarter last completed in which each such scholar shall have attended the said School, distinguishing between boys above and under six years of age, and girls, and forward such list to the said District School Committee, addressed to their secretary, accompanied by a certificate of the due observance of the conditions upon which such School shall have been admitted into union with the said Committee, according to the form in the schedule hereunto annexed, marked (C.).

45. *The School Committee to pay the Fees according to the List.*—The said District School Committee, upon receipt of such list, accompanied by such certificate as last aforesaid, shall cause the same to be accurately investigated; and forthwith, if the same shall be found to be correct, or if incorrect, then after the error shall have been corrected, shall cause payment to be made to the managers, trustees, or proprietors of the said School, as the case may be, according to the rate following, that is to say, the sum of fivepence for every boy above the age of six years, in respect of his attendance in each week at the said School during the quarter, and the sum of fourpence for every boy under the age of six years, and for every girl, in respect of each week as aforesaid: Provided, that no payment shall be made to the managers, trustees, or proprietors of any School in which any paid master or teacher shall be a person in holy orders, or a minister or preacher of religion, nor in which any teacher shall be engaged during the ordinary School hours in teaching any other children in the same School than such as shall receive free education, either under the provisions of this Act, or by means of some charitable contribution or endowment.

46. *What shall be a Week in a Day School.*—The attendance of a child at the School for three days and a half day, in the day time, computed as above, during the school hours, between Sunday and the following Sunday, but exclusive of both those days, shall be counted as an attendance for a week in every Day School: Provided that, in case a child should be unable to attend in any one week three days and a half day, computed as above, but shall attend for a greater period during any succeeding week, such additional attendance shall be calculated so as to entitle the managers of the said School to the payment of school fees, in respect of every week in some day of which there shall have been an attendance, provided the attendance during the four consecutive weeks computed together shall be equal to fourteen days.

47. *Assistance to Evening Schools.*—The said District School Committee may from time to time, in accordance with regulations to be duly made by them and approved of by the Committee of Council, grant such sums as the said District School Committee shall deem requisite towards the opening, and, for such period as they shall determine, towards the support of an Evening School, to be conducted in any School admitted into union with them: Provided always that the state of the funds raised under the provision of this Act, after due allowance shall have been made for all previously existing charges thereon and liabilities then incurred, will enable them so to do.

48. *Mode of Application of the Payments of the School Fees.*—The managers, trustees, or proprietors to whom any sums of money shall be paid, under the provisions hereinbefore contained, shall apply the same, in manner next hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, they shall apply a portion, not exceeding one-sixth part thereof, in payment of, for, or towards, the purchase of books and stationery, to be used by the children in the school rooms, and for or towards the cleaning and warming of the school rooms, and the insurance from fire of the school buildings and the furniture and apparatus therein; and for or towards the keeping of the school rooms, furniture, and apparatus in good condition, or for or towards all or any of such purposes; and the residue of such sums of money in payment of the teacher or teachers of the schools.

49. *As to Number and Qualification of Teachers to be employed in Schools.*—Where the average number of children attending in any School admitted into union shall be reported by the inspector thereof for the time being as amounting to one hundred and sixty or upwards, there shall, for every entire number of eighty scholars, be employed in such School, independently of any apprenticed-pupil, teacher or stipendiary monitor, one teacher at least, who shall have obtained a government certificate of merit, or a certificate of competency, from some one of her Majesty's inspectors, or from some local inspector acting within the district.

50. *Accounts to be kept of Receipts and Expenditure, and Abstract to be forwarded yearly to District Committee.*—The managers, trustees, or proprietors shall keep accurate accounts of the receipt and expenditure of all monies so paid to them as aforesaid, and shall, in the month of February in each year, forward an abstract of such accounts to the District School Committee, in form hereunto in the Schedule, marked (D.) annexed.

51. *As to Augmentation of Teachers' Salary.*—For the purpose of enabling the teachers in any School, admitted into union under this Act, to receive an augmentation of salary under the existing Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, requiring a certain proportion of every such teacher's salary to be raised by voluntary contributions, the amount paid to any teacher of a School out of the rates to be raised under this Act shall be deemed and taken to be in lieu of and equivalent to an equal amount raised by voluntary contributions for or towards the salary of the teacher or teachers of such School.

Inspection of the Schools.

52. *Inspection of the School by Her Majesty's Inspector sufficient.*—School, with Consent of Trustees, forthwith subject to such Inspection.—*Report of Her Majesty's Inspector.*—The inspection of any School in union with the said District School Committee, by an Inspector from time to time appointed by her Majesty and her successors, shall be deemed sufficient for the purposes of this Act; and where any School received into union with the said Committee shall not have been open to such inspection, and the trustees, managers, or proprietors thereof shall be willing to place the same under such inspection, the said Committee, with their consent, but not otherwise, shall send a notice of its having been so received into union, in writing, signed by their secretary, to the Committee of Council on Education; and such School shall thenceforth become subject to such inspection so long as it shall continue in union, and shall be inspected by her Majesty's Inspector for the time being in the district, and be entitled thereupon to all the benefits of the parliamentary grants as other Schools open to the inspection of her Majesty's Inspectors, and every such Inspector shall transmit to the said District School Committee once every year, a report upon every School in union with the said District School

Committee which he has inspected, and upon every teacher or pupil teacher employed in such School whom he may have examined.

53. *Committee empowered to apply to the Committee of Council to appoint Her Majesty's Inspector to inspect Schools, and may pay him.*—The said District School Committee may, when they shall deem it expedient, apply to the Committee of Council on Education to direct some one or more of her Majesty's Inspectors to inspect the Schools within the district, and to examine the teachers and scholars therein, and perform the other duties required from such Inspectors by this Act; and shall pay to each such Inspector the sum of one guinea for every day in which he shall be so employed, in pursuance of such application of the said School Committee; and the said Committee of Council shall, upon such application, direct such and so many of their Inspectors to attend in the said district for the inspection of the Schools, the examination of the teachers and scholars, and the performance of such other duties as aforesaid as they shall deem requisite.

54. *Application by Committee for Local Inspectors, and their Appointment.*—*The Appointment to be approved of by the Committee.*—The said District School Committee, when they deem it expedient, may apply to the Committee of Council on Education for the appointment of Local Inspectors, not exceeding three in number, who shall be required to reside within the said district, and devote the whole of their time to the inspection of the Schools in union with the said District School Committee, and the examination of teachers and scholars thereof; such Committee undertaking, when they make such application, for a payment of a moiety of the salary of such Inspectors, as hereinafter mentioned, out of the funds to be raised under the authority of this Act; and if her Majesty or her successors shall, upon such application, and upon the recommendation of the said Committee of Council, appoint such Local Inspectors, the said District School Committee shall pay one-half of the salary of every such Inspector, as the same may be fixed by her Majesty or her successors: Provided that such payment to every Inspector by the said District School Committee shall not exceed the sum of one hundred and seventy-five pounds per annum, and so in proportion for any less period during which he shall continue in office: Provided also that no person shall be recommended by the said Committee of Council to her Majesty for appointment as a Local Inspector, until his name shall have been submitted to the said District School Committee for their consideration, and have been approved of by them, which approval shall be testified by a writing under the hand of the chairman or vice-chairman of the said District School Committee, countersigned by their secretary.

55. *Provision for Default of Appointment by the Crown.*—*Proviso.*—In case the said Committee of Council shall decline to recommend her Majesty or her successors to make such appointment, the said District School Committee may make such and so many appointments as they shall deem requisite, at such salary and upon such terms as they shall find adequate and suitable: Provided that no such Local Inspectors shall be recommended to her Majesty for appointment, except in conformity with the rules and regulations according to which Inspectors are appointed by her Majesty for the several classes of Schools at the time of the passing of this Act; and where any such Inspector shall be appointed by the District School Committee, he shall be appointed in conformity with such rules and regulations, or as nearly as shall be practicable.

56. *Tenure of Office of the Local Inspector.*—Every Local Inspector shall continue to hold office during the pleasure of her Majesty or her successors, if appointed by her or them, or of the District School Committee, if appointed by them.

57. *The Duty of the Local Inspectors to inspect Schools not open to the Government Inspector, as well as those open thereto.*—Every Local Inspector shall, upon notice in writing from the said District School Committee, inspect any School not open to the inspection of her Majesty's Inspector, which shall be in union with the said Committee, or any School which may be so open, but which the trustees, managers, or proprietors thereof may request to be inspected, with the view of their placing the same in union with the said Committee; and, if required by such notice, shall examine the teachers and scholars thereof, and shall perform such other duties and be subject to such and the like instructions and regulations in the discharge thereof, and shall make report to the Committee of Council, in like manner as her Majesty's Inspectors are subject to or required to do, so far as such instructions and regulations shall be applicable to the particular School; and shall, when the trustees,

managers, or proprietors thereof request it, upon the direction of the said District School Committee, inspect for general purposes any School in union with the said District School Committee, which, for the time being, shall be subject to the inspection of some one of her Majesty's Inspectors, who shall not be disqualified by the terms of the deed of endowment, or any agreement between the trustees or managers of such school and the said Committee of Council, to inspect the same.

58. *Schools to be inspected every Six Months. — Annual and periodical Reports of the Local Inspectors to be made by them, and Copies transmitted to the Committee of Council.* — The District School Committee shall cause every School in union with them to be inspected by some duly authorized Inspector once at least in every six months; and every Local Inspector, once in every six months, shall make a report to the said Committee upon the Schools inspected by him during such period, and transmit a copy thereof to the Committee of Council on Education, and shall make such other reports at stated periods, or from time to time, to the said District School Committee, as they shall require, in regard to the discharge of his duties.

59. *Examination of the Scholars.* — The Inspectors who shall inspect the Schools in union with the said District School Committee, shall, on or before the tenth day of June in each year, select such scholars in the School which they shall inspect as they shall deem fitting for a public examination, and shall report, in writing, the names of such scholars to the said Committee; and the said Committee shall, at such time as they shall think fit, direct that all the scholars named in the several reports of the said Inspectors shall be examined by the Local and such of her Majesty's Inspectors as may be at the time within the district, and may offer such and so many rewards and gratuities to the most deserving scholars at such examination, and publicly give such certificates of merit to the scholars so examined, as the examining Inspectors shall recommend, and may pay such rewards and gratuities as they shall, upon the recommendation of the examiners, deem fitting, in such manner as to secure, as far as possible, the further education of such scholars, for periods to be prescribed by the said Committee.

60. *The Names of the deserving Scholars to be published.* — The said District School Committee shall cause the names of the scholars, who shall be placed in the first class at every such examination, to be advertised in such newspapers as they may think proper, circulating within the said boroughs of Manchester and Salford respectively.

61. *Examination of Proprietary Schools by Inspectors.* — When the proprietor or proprietors of any School situated within the said district, but not in union with the said District School Committee, shall apply in writing to them for such purpose, the said Committee may request her Majesty's Inspector, then being within the district, or some local Inspector, to inspect and examine such School and the scholars therein, and thereupon such Inspector shall be empowered to enter the said School and examine its condition and the scholars, and shall report to the said District School Committee and to the proprietors or other persons interested in the said School the result of such examination.

62. *What Payment to be made for such Inspection.* — Provided that, where her Majesty's Inspector shall be so employed, the District School Committee shall pay to such Inspector the sum of one guinea for every day that he shall be employed in the inspection of such School and the examination of the scholars, and charge the same upon the fund to be raised under this Act.

Raising the Fund required for the Purposes of the Act.

63. *The Committee to make out Estimates of Expenditure, and transmit to the Town Council.* — And whereas it is necessary to provide a fund for liquidating the charges and expenses which will arise under this Act; be it therefore enacted, that the said District School Committee shall, as soon as convenient after they have been elected, make out an estimate of the probable expenditure which will be requisite for the purposes of this Act for the half-year ensuing their first meeting, and shall transmit a copy of such estimate, containing a statement of the amount of the several items of the necessary expenditure, signed by their secretary, to the Town Council of the boroughs of Manchester and Salford respectively; and

shall from time to time afterwards, as and when the said Committee shall deem it requisite, make and transmit similar estimates, in respect of the sums mentioned therein, as being required for the same purpose.

64. *The Town Council to make and collect a School Rate.*— Upon the receipt of such estimate the Town Council of the boroughs shall distribute the amount thereof among the several parishes, townships, and places within the district which comprises such borough, or in which it is contained, as the case may be, in proportion to the annual value of the property therein assessable to the relief of the poor, and shall make and enforce such and the like precepts and orders upon the respective overseers, or churchwardens and overseers, as the case may be, of the parishes, townships, and places within the said district, requiring them to pay the amount therein specified out of the poor rate; or to make a separate rate for the same, to be termed the School Rate, as the Town Council may now do in respect of any borough rate authorized to be raised within any such borough; and all the provisions of the statute of the first year of the reign of her present Majesty, chapter eighty-one, now in force, shall be applicable to every school rate required under the provisions of this Act, in like manner as by the said Act the same are applicable to a borough rate or watch rate therein provided for; and in respect of such part of any parish or township which shall be within the said borough while the residue thereof is without the same, such of the provisions of the statutes of the thirteenth year of the reign of her Majesty, chapter sixty-five, and those of the fourteenth year of the reign of her Majesty, chapter one hundred and three, as apply to borough rates in divided parishes, shall apply to this rate.

65. *The Rate to be laid not to exceed Sixpence in the Pound annually.*—No greater amount than sixpence in the pound during the period of one year, upon all the rateable property within the said borough, shall be raised by the Town Council, whether the same be paid out of the poor rate or be levied by a separate rate.

66. *The Statute 12 & 13 Vict. c. 14. extended to this Rate.*— The said school rate may be collected by the same persons as are employed to collect the poor rate, with proper remuneration, payable as in respect of the collection of the latter rate, and the collector shall be entitled and subject to all the like incidents, privileges, and liabilities as the collector of the poor rate is or may be from time to time subject to, and all the provisions of the statute of the twelfth year of the reign of her Majesty, chapter fourteen, shall be applicable to the school rate, the collector thereof being empowered to make complaint and conduct the proceedings for the recovery of the arrears of this rate in like manner as the overseers therein mentioned are empowered thereby to recover the arrears of the poor rate.

67. *Appeal against the School Rate.*— Any person rated to any school rate may appeal to the special or quarter sessions against the assessment upon him in all respects in like manner and subject to the like conditions and consequences as in the case of an appeal against a poor rate, and the recorder or justices, as the case may be, shall have the same jurisdiction and authority to decide the said appeal, and to deal with the assessment appealed against, as he or they respectively would have in the case of an appeal against a poor rate, and all costs incurred in such appeal by the respondent, and not recovered from the appellant, or adjudged or otherwise awarded to be paid to the appellant, shall be paid out of the then school rate, or, if it shall be quashed, out of the borough fund.

68. *Amount collected to be paid to the Treasurer of the Borough.*— The amount paid by the overseers upon such order or precept out of the poor rate, or collected in respect of the school rate, shall be paid over, under such regulations as the Town Council shall from time to time prescribe, to the treasurer of the borough, and shall be credited by him to a distinct and separate account, to be entitled "The School Rate Account," in which account shall also be entered all payments made by such treasurer out of the said fund for the purposes of this Act; and the securities heretofore or hereafter to be given by and on account of the said treasurer for the due discharge of the duties of his office shall extend to this account and the monies paid to him and by him in reference to the school rate, unless the sureties of such treasurer give notice in writing to the Town Council, within six months after the passing of this Act, that they will not be answerable for this additional responsibility, and thereupon the Town Council

may require their treasurer to find other security in respect of this particular fund.

69. *Any Rate-payer may require his Rate to be appropriated to a particular School.* — *Proviso.* — Any person who shall have paid a school rate may, within three months after the same shall have been made, apply to the secretary of the said District School Committee to have the amount of his rate appropriated in the application of the provisions of this Act to some particular school or class of schools in union with the said Committee which he may specify, and the said secretary, upon the production of the receipt for the payment of the said rate, shall then enter in a book, to be kept at the office of the said Committee, the name of the applicant, the amount of the rate paid by him, and the name of the school or class of schools to which he shall have desired that the same shall be appropriated; and the said Committee shall, as far as practicable, direct that the amount of the rates from time to time thus appropriated by the rate-payers shall be applied in conformity with such appropriations: Provided that if the amount so appropriated shall exceed the amount required or reasonably expected to be required in respect of the school or class of schools to which it shall have been appropriated, the surplus may be applied generally for purposes of this Act.

70. *School Committee to certify to the Town Council the Amounts required for Payment.* — The said District School Committee shall certify such accounts of expenditure as from time to time they shall have incurred in carrying into effect the provisions of this Act, to the Town Council for payment, and the said Council shall charge the same to the School Rate Account, and transmit orders upon the treasurer of the borough for the payment of the same to the said District School Committee, who shall deliver such orders to the persons to whom the payments shall be due; and the said Committee shall keep accurate accounts, in proper ledgers, of the sums of money from time to time so paid, and of all their pecuniary transactions, under proper heads.

71. *Committee's Ledgers open to the Inspection of the Members of the Town Council and Rate-payers.* — Every such ledger shall be open to the inspection of any member of the Town Council at any reasonable time in the day, except when the District School Committee shall be sitting, and to any rate-payer assessed to the said school rate who shall not be in arrear in respect of the then current rate, for the space of two weeks after Lady Day and Michaelmas Day in each year, between the hours of ten in the forenoon and two o'clock in the afternoon; and every person assessed to the said rate shall have the like authority to inspect the same, and demand or take copies thereof, as any person assessed to the poor rate now by law possesses in respect of such rate.

72. *Financial Statements to be prepared annually.* — The said District School Committee shall, at Michaelmas, in every year, call upon the treasurer of the borough to supply them with an account of the monies received by him during the year then last past, and of his payments on account of the school rate, with a statement of the balance in his hands; and shall cause to be prepared and made out an accurate financial statement and balance sheet of the receipts and expenditure in respect of the school rate during such year, and shall submit the same, signed by their chairman or vice-chairman, and countersigned by their secretary, to the officer appointed to audit the accounts of the borough for examination, with the ledgers and accounts of the said Committee; and after the same shall have been corrected by him, if necessary, and approved of, such approval being testified by his signature to the said balance sheet, the said Committee shall cause the same, or an abstract thereof, approved of by the said auditor, in like manner, to be published forthwith in such newspapers circulating within the borough as they may think proper.

Extension of Schools, Repairs of existing Schools.

73. *Repairs of an existing School in Union may be aided by the Town Council.* — If the trustees, managers, or proprietors of any School admitted into union shall make application in writing to the District School Committee with which it is in union for aid towards the necessary repair of the schoolroom, or the buildings and the appurtenances belonging to the school, and shall set forth that without

such aid the necessary repair cannot be effected, and if such application be signed by one of her Majesty's or the Local Inspector who shall have inspected the said School, testifying to the necessity of such repair, the said Committee may, if they think proper, cause a specification and estimate of the requisite repair to be drawn up by some competent person; and if on due consideration of the state of the funds at their disposal, with reference to the other demands then chargeable thereon under the provisions of this Act, the said Committee shall deem it right to entertain the application wholly or in part, they may either advance the amount to the said trustees, managers, or proprietors, or may cause the requisite repairs to be done under their own direction and superintendence; and all such money so expended in the repair of any such School shall be a charge upon the fund herein authorized to be raised.

74. *Sunday School Rooms may be rendered applicable to permanent Day Schools.*—*Proviso.*—For the purpose of increasing the amount of school accommodation in the said boroughs, it shall be lawful for the trustees, managers, or proprietors of any schoolrooms or other buildings used on Sundays, or occasionally only, for the purposes of education within the said district, to apply, in writing under the hands of the major part of them, to the District School Committee for aid to enable them to open such rooms or buildings as Schools on other days in the week; and the said School Committee may thereupon, if they deem fit, and if the state of the funds raised under the authority of this Act, after due allowance shall have been made for all previously existing charges thereon and liabilities then incurred, will enable them so to do, grant such aid; and when the same shall have been so granted, and the said premises shall be opened as a permanent Day School, such Day School shall forthwith become in union with the said Committee and a free Day School for all the purposes of this Act, subject however to all the conditions, regulations, and qualifications herein prescribed with reference to Schools to be admitted into union: Provided that nothing herein contained shall in any respect further interfere with the management of the said School, or with the Sunday School previously held therein, or confer any additional advantage thereon.

Provision to establish New Schools.

75. *Provision for the Establishment of New Schools.*—The District School Committee shall from time to time, with the assistance of the Inspectors, as well as her Majesty's as local, examine the district with reference to the amount of school accommodation therein, and ascertain how far it is sufficient; and when they shall be of opinion that in any part of the said district there is no School which is readily accessible to the inhabitants dwelling in such part, or that there is not a sufficiency of school room available to them therein, they shall cause a report to be drawn up upon the subject, setting forth the amount of the population within the particular part of the district to which the report applies, a list and description of the several Schools in or near to it, and the amount of the additional school accommodation which may appear to be requisite, and shall cause a copy of such report to be advertised in such newspapers circulating within the said district as they may think proper.

76. *Committee may provide New Schools, unless Notice be given of Provision by private Persons.*—If, within the space of sixty days from the latest day when such report shall be so advertised, the said District School Committee shall receive a notice in writing, according to the form set forth in the Schedule (E.) hereunto annexed, specifying the intention of the persons mentioned in such notice to procure the erection or establishment, within six months from the date of such notice, of such School as shall be required, and as would be admissible into union under the provisions of this Act, and of their intention to apply for its admission into union, then the said Committee shall not take any step for the providing of any such additional School pending the term of six months; but if at the end of such term of sixty days no such notice shall have been received, or if, at the end of six months after such notice, the School shall not have been erected or established, or shall not be in the course of erection or establishment, the said Committee shall procure the additional accommodation which such Committee shall deem necessary, and

shall give notice by an advertisement in such newspapers circulating within the said district as they may think proper of their intention so to do.

77. *After the District Committee have given Notice they shall procure Site and fit up School. — Proviso: Enrolment in Chancery not requisite. — Proviso: For the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act.* — The said District School Committee shall, after having given such last-mentioned notice, with all convenient speed, regard being had to the state of the funds which can be acquired under the provisions of this Act, and the liabilities to which the same shall be then subject, procure a site for a new school, or a building to be converted to such purpose, within the part of the district to which the report aforesaid shall apply, and shall erect upon such site, or adapt and fit up (as the case may be) premises for a School for the said part of the district, which site or building shall be conveyed to and vested in the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough comprising the district or in which it is contained (as the case may be), as other property of the borough: Provided that no enrolment in Chancery of the conveyance of such property shall be requisite; and provided also that "The Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845," except the parts and enactments of that act with respect to the purchase and taking of lands otherwise than by agreement, and with respect to the recovery of forfeitures, penalties, and costs, shall, in as far as the same shall be consistent with this Act, be incorporated herewith.

78. *How Cost to be provided.* — The cost of providing such last-mentioned School, and of the furnishing and fitting up thereof, shall be charged upon the fund herein authorized to be raised.

79. *Sanction of the Committee of Council required.* — Provided nevertheless, that no land shall be purchased for such School, nor any School shall be so erected or provided, without the sanction of the Committee of Council on Education, expressed by a resolution to be passed by them, and until a copy thereof, under the hand of their secretary, or some other officer of such Committee, on their behalf, be transmitted to the secretary of the said District School Committee.

80. *Committee of Management of the New School to be elected by the District School Committee.* — The School so to be provided shall, subject to such control as hereinafter mentioned, be managed by a Committee of Management, consisting of fifteen persons, to be elected by the said District School Committee, as managers of such School, out of the persons qualified as hereinafter prescribed.

81. *Qualification of the Managers of New School.* — Every person who shall be at the time of the election assessed to the poor rate within the district comprising such borough upon property whose rateable value is not under twenty pounds a year, and who shall not be a person in holy orders, or minister or preacher of religion, shall be qualified to be a manager of the School to be so provided as aforesaid, upon such report of the said District School Committee, so long as he shall continue to be so assessed, but no longer.

82. *How Committee of Management to be renewed. — Proviso for occasional Vacancies.* — At the end of the first year after the first election of such managers, five, or if there be any vacancies, such a number only as may be requisite to make up with the vacancies the number of five managers, to be determined by ballot among themselves, unless they shall otherwise agree, shall then go out of office; and at the end of the second year five of the remaining number of the managers originally elected, to be determined in like manner, shall go out of office; and at the end of the third year the remainder of the persons originally elected shall go out of office; and their places shall, in each instance, be supplied by the said District School Committee, who shall elect the same number of persons to supply the vacancies; and thenceforward a third part of the managers (those who shall have been longest in office being selected) shall retire at the end of every subsequent year, and their places shall be supplied in like manner: Provided, that when any vacancy shall occur in the Committee of Management by death, resignation, or disqualification, such vacancy may be filled up either on the occasion of the vacancy, or at the time of the annual election, but it shall not be necessary that any distinction shall be made in respect of the vacancies supplied.

83. *Provision for Default of Election.* — No default of election or vacancy shall prevent the remaining members of the Committee of Management from acting as fully as though their number were complete, until a valid election take place, or the vacancy be supplied.

84. *The Committee of Management to choose a Chairman.—Casting vote.*—Such Committee of Management shall, at their meeting after each annual election, choose some one of themselves to be a chairman for the ensuing year, and in the case of any vacancy in the office of chairman during the year, elect another to fill the office for the residue of the year, which chairman, or some other member, presiding at any meeting, shall, in all questions where there shall be an equality of votes of the members voting thereon, have a second as a casting vote.

85. *The Committee of Management to make Regulations for the School, subject to control of District School Committee.*—Subject to any general regulations from time to time issued by the said District School Committee, the said Committee of Management shall have the entire control and superintendence of such School, shall elect or remove the teacher or teachers thereof, shall determine the hours of attendance at School, the books to be read, and the course of instruction and discipline to be observed therein, and all other matters appertaining thereto.

86. *Provision for the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures therein.*—Provided that in every such School the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the authorized version shall always be provided for as part of the daily instruction of the scholars, but no distinctive religious creed, catechism, or formulary shall be taught therein; and the same regulations shall be duly observed in respect of the attendance at Sunday Schools, or places of worship, as are hereinbefore provided in regard to other Schools admitted into union with the said District School Committee.

87. *Inspection of Schools.*—Every such School shall be open to the inspection of her Majesty's Inspector, under such regulations as the Committee of Council shall prescribe, and shall be a free school, and shall be in union with the said District School Committee for all the purposes of this Act, subject to all the conditions, regulations, and qualifications provided in respect of Schools in union with the said Committee.

88. *Managers to receive Subscriptions and Payments, and are required to support and maintain the School.*—The managers of every such School shall receive all subscriptions and payments appropriated thereto, and shall out of them pay and disburse the charges and expenses of and incidental to the said School, and shall keep the school buildings and its furniture in good repair, order, and condition, and the requisite books and apparatus adequately supplied.

89. *School Committee may guarantee Teachers' Salaries thereout for a time, and supply the Managers with all Funds required for the discharge of their Duties.*—Upon the recommendation of the said District School Committee, the said Committee of Management shall receive out of the fund herein authorized to be raised such amount, and for such a length of time, not exceeding one year in the whole, as the said District School Committee shall think proper, towards the salaries of the teachers of the School thus provided, and towards any charges necessarily incurred in the maintenance of the said School, over and above the school fees payable under the authority of this Act, and other receipts, and shall certify such amount to the Town Council, for payment thereof, as hereinbefore provided.

90. *Town Council may sell or let any School becoming unnecessary, or may exchange it for other Premises.*—If any School thus provided should wholly cease to be required, or any portion of the premises belonging thereto should be either permanently or for a time unnecessary for the purposes of the School, the Town Council may, upon application from the District School Committee, with the consent of the Committee of Council, sell or let the same, and apply the purchase money, or the rents arising from the letting thereof, in aid of the fund raised under the authority of this Act, and the said Town Council may at any time, upon like application and with the like consent, exchange the School, or any part of the premises belonging thereto, for other premises, to be held for the same purposes, and may give or receive any requisite sum of money for equality of exchange.

Information as to Pauper Children.

91. *Clerks to Guardians to send Lists of Poor Children not receiving Education.*—For the purpose of extending the benefits of education among the poor of the said boroughs respectively, the clerks to the Boards of Guardians authorized to

administer relief to the poor within the respective districts, shall, at the end of each quarter of a year, report, in writing, to the District School Committee the names and places of abode of such poor children between the ages of four and twelve years resident within the said district, who are not attending any school, and who themselves, or whose parents or guardians, are in the receipt of out-door relief; and the guardians of the union or township respectively may require such child to attend some School in such district, subject to such rules and regulations as the Poor Law Board shall issue in the matter.

Appeal.

92. *Clause of Appeal.*—Where any person shall be aggrieved in respect of any matter herein contained, for which no remedy is otherwise provided by this Act, such person may appeal to the Quarter Sessions of the Borough or the County, as the case may be, wherein the matter of such grievance shall arise; and such Appeal shall be therein heard and determined by the said Court, with the like incidents and consequences, and the like liability of the respective parties of such Appeal to the payment of costs, as in the case of appeals against poor rates: Provided that the appellant shall give to the respondent notice in writing of the matter complained of, such time before the hearing of the Appeal as is required by the practice of the Sessions in respect of notice of trial before the hearing of appeals thereat.

Interpretation of Words.

93. *Interpretation of Words: "Trustee"*—The word "Trustee" shall signify any person in whom is vested, by deed or other legal instrument, the management of any School, whether he do or do not also hold the legal estate thereof; "*Manager*"—The word "Manager" shall signify the person who in like manner has actually the management of any School, whether duly appointed to such management or not, and though the legal estate of the School may be in some other person or persons; "*Proprietor*"—The word "Proprietor" shall signify every person who shall at his own charge have erected, fitted up, or procured any School, or shall support and maintain the same solely or jointly with others, or shall be reputed to be the owner thereof; "*Committee of Council on Education*"—The words "Committee of Council on Education" shall mean the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, or other persons or minister for the time being appointed to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education; "*Her Majesty's Inspector*"—The words "her Majesty's Inspector" shall mean an Inspector of Schools appointed by her Majesty or her successors to visit Schools aided by public money.

94. *Application of the Words "Trustees," "Managers," or "Proprietors"*—In reference to the words "Trustees," "Managers" or "Proprietors," as used herein, the acts of the trustees where there are any such, the acts of the managers where there are no trustees as herein defined, and the acts of the proprietors where there are no such trustees or managers, shall be taken to be intended for the purposes of this Act.

95. *What is meant by "Committee of Council."*—Whenever by the provisions of this Act the approval, assent, or verification of the Committee of Council on Education is required to any act, regulation, scheme, fact or document, a certificate of such approval, assent, or verification, purporting to be signed by the secretary of the said Committee of Council, or some other officer of such Committee on their behalf, shall be deemed sufficient evidence of such approval, assent, or verification, in all courts of law and equity, and elsewhere, unless evidence be given to contravene the same.

96. *Provision for the Cessation of the Committee of Council.*—If hereafter the said Committee of Council on Education shall cease to act, but some other Board or

some Minister shall be appointed for the superintendence, guidance, or control of public education in England, all the powers and authorities herein conferred upon such Committee of Council shall be vested in such Board or Minister; and if no other Board or Minister shall be so appointed, then the same shall be vested in the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the time being.

97. *Name of the Act.*—In all documents, instruments, forms, and proceedings, and on every occasion this Act may be cited as "The Manchester and Salford Education Act, 1852."

The SCHEDULES referred to in the foregoing Act.

SCHEDULE (A.)

Form of Application for Admission into Union.

TO THE MANCHESTER [or SALFORD] DISTRICT SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being the major part of the Trustees [Managers or Proprietors] of the _____ School, situated at _____ within the Manchester [or Salford] School District, and established for the Education of Children belonging to the Established Church [or the Wesleyan Congregation, or the Roman Catholic Church, or —here describe the denomination of the School], do hereby make application to the said District School Committee of the Borough of Manchester [or Salford], to be united with the said Committee for the purposes of the Manchester and Salford Education Act, 1852, and undertake to fulfil all the conditions and regulations prescribed and required by that Act, in the event of the said School being admitted into Union; and we do hereby declare that the average number of the children who have been attending the School aforesaid, during the period of twelve months next preceding the date hereof has been [state the number according to the sexes, and the number of boys above and under six years of age], and that the said School is capable of accommodating [] children and no more, allowing at least six square feet to each child; and we do hereby forward a copy of the certificate of merit, bearing date the _____ day of _____ awarded by the Committee of Council on Education, to Mr. [C. D.] the present teacher of the said School, [or a certificate of the competency of Mr. [C. D.] the present teacher of the said School, to teach the scholars therein, bearing date the _____ day of _____, and granted to him by [A. B] Her Majesty's Inspector, or by Mr. _____ one of the Local Inspectors of the said District.]

As witness our hands, this _____ day of _____ 18 _____

Witness to the Signatures
of the parties here mentioned,

_____ }
_____ } The major part of the
_____ } Trustees [Managers,
_____ } or Proprietors] of the
_____ } [] School.

_____ of [High Street], Manchester.

From - Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education as Affected by the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council, 1853, 477-495.*

APPENDIX XIII

NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION AMENDMENT

REPORT OF A SUB-COMMITTEE APPOINTED "TO CONSIDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE PLAN IN RELATION TO EXISTING SCHOOLS, AND TO REPORT TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE." ADOPTED BY THE EXEC. COMM., AUG. 12, 1851.

THE Sub-Comm. find that the chief difficulties in the way of progress are: The fear that the establishment of Free Schools would draw away scholars from existing schools; that to take away scholars to other buildings wd injure the congregations to which existing schools are connected; that in cases of endowed schools, or schools erected with a view to the inculcation of doctrinal religion, the exclusion of such instruction wd violate the wills of donors and supporters; that the present supporters and managers feel a lively personal interest in the success of the schools in which they are connected, and desire to retain their management. The Sub-Comm. think that all these objections may be met by the following Appendix to that part of the Plan wh. empowers Sch. Comms. to "purchase, lease, or rent existing school-rooms" (c. VI. s. 3) and recommend that the substance of the Report be embodied in any documents the Association may put forth.

PROPOSED APPENDIX TO CLAUSE VI. S. 3

That schools already in existence may become free schools under the direction of their present or future managers, and receive grants per week for each scholar educated in them.

Provided:

1. That on inspection they are found in a satisfactory condition.
2. That "the inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not take place in them between the hours of and in the morning, and and in the afternoon.
3. That the attendance of the scholars on "the inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not be compulsory.
4. That "the inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not be a part of the duty of the teachers under this system.
5. That no part of the school payments derived from the rate shall be directly or indirectly applied to "the inculcation of doctrinal religion."

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 145]

APPENDIX XIV

MEMBERS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE

B. Appointed on March 26, 1852:

1. T. Milner-Gibson, Member of Parliament for Manchester
2. John Bright, Member of Parliament for Manchester
3. Samuel M. Peto, Member of Parliament for Norwich
4. Lord John Russell, Member of Parliament for London
5. Mr. Heald, ?
6. Edward Cardwell, Member of Parliament for Liverpool
7. R. A. Christopher, Member of Parliament for Lincolnshire and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
8. William Miles, Member of Parliament for Somersetshire
9. William Monsell, Member of Parliament for Limerick
10. Marquess of Blandford, Hon. John Winston (Spencer Churchill), Member of Parliament for Woodstock
11. W. E. Gladstone, Member of Parliament for Oxford (University)
12. Richard Cobden, Member of Parliament for Yorkshire East Riding
13. W. J. Fox, Member of Parliament for Oldham
14. Joseph Brotherton, Member of Parliament for Salford
15. Henry Ker Seymer, Member of Parliament for Dorsetshire

[*Report from the Select Committee, P.P., 1852, XI, ii.*]

B. Reappointed on February 17, 1853:

1. T. Milner-Gibson
2. John Bright
3. Samuel M. Peto
4. Lord John Russell
5. Mr. Pellott ?
6. Sir George Grey
7. Henry Ker Seymer
8. Robert A. Christopher
9. William Miles
10. Mr. Bowyer ?
11. Marquis of Blandford
12. Mr. Macaulay ?
13. Richard Cobden
14. W. J. Fox
15. Joseph Brotherton

[*Report from the Select Committee, P.P., 1852-1853, XXIV, ii.*]

APPENDIX XV

TABLE 2
EXCERPTS FROM REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE

Index Letter	Name of Registrar's District	Population of Registrar's District	Number of Assessments: Based on Poor Rate 1850-51							Number of Children School Age and Class in Life to Attend Common Elementary Schools					Classification of Schools			Number of Children Attending Day Schools			School Buildings Separate Used as Day Schools										School Buildings Under Places of Worship Used as Day Schools	School Buildings Used Only as Sunday Schools								
			Under £10	£10 and Under £18	£18 and Under £25	£25 and Under £50	£50 and Under £100	Above £100	Total	4 yrs and under 6 yrs	6 yrs and under 10 yrs	10 yrs and under 15 yrs	Total in houses under £18	Total No. Children between 4 yrs and 15 yrs in all houses	Total amount of public day school accommodation	Total amount of places occupied	Surplus at 8 sq ft per child	In common private schools	In Church, British, and Denom. schools	Total	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected	Inspected Non- Inspected		Church Denom.	No. of buildings	Accom- modation	No. of buildings	Accom- modation				
Manchester																																								
A	Ancoats	53,738	9,205	430	201	122	48	47	10,053	2,534	4,401	5,174	12,109	[Richson's statist- tics]	5,297	2,556	2,741	955	2,556	3,511	4	1	1	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	957	-	-		
B	St. George's	41,076	6,746	347	152	106	33	16	7,400	1,940	3,371	3,963	9,274		6,871	2,843	4,028	687	2,843	3,530	3	2	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	502			
C	London Road	31,907	5,314	640	260	254	118	116	6,702	1,382	2,400	2,821	6,603		7,160	2,319	4,841	595	2,319	2,914	3	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	2	2	1,393	2	566		
D	Market Street	27,068	4,269	1,138	722	994	860	525	8,518	563	980	1,153	2,696		3,126	1,540	1,586	248	1,540	1,788	3	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	882	2	913		
E	Deansgate	33,198	5,225	801	368	400	191	231	7,216	1,337	2,322	2,729	6,388		5,499	2,556	2,943	87	2,556	2,643	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	1,103	3	430
F-G	Beswick and Ardwick	15,776	2,496	409	106	170	101	45	3,327	690	1,198	1,408	3,296		2,252	648	1,604	404	648	1,052	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	744	3	693	
H	Charlton-on- Medlock	35,546	3,950	1,677	821	934	219	78	7,679	1,240	2,154	2,532	5,926		5,863	1,933	3,930	544	1,933	2,477	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	3	937	7	3,164		
J	Hulme	53,470	8,324	2,397	365	218	35	38	11,577	2,414	4,192	4,928	11,534		5,395	1,831	3,567	1,046	1,831	2,877	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	2	232	2	1,226	
K	Cheetham	11,175	425	1,057	329	480	55	36	2,376	328	570	656	1,554		2,124	883	1,541	64	883	947	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	1	183	2	258	
-	Total	302,954	45,954	8,896	3,524	3,678	1,660	1,136	64,848	12,428	21,588	25,364	59,380	71,149	43,890	17,109	26,781	4,630	17,109	21,739	21	15	2	6	4	3	2	4	-	1	-	5	3	8	1	11	19	6,431	22	7,752
Salford and Townships of Broughton and Pendleton																																								
L	Greengate	35,640	6,324	903	144	141	62	48	7,622	1,719	2,970	3,428	8,117		5,460	2,115	3,345	473	2,115	2,568	2	3	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	3	702	6	1,576	
M	Regent Road	28,211	4,611	629	122	338	89	57	5,846	1,285	2,220	2,564	6,069		3,764	1,441	2,343	241	1,441	1,682	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	669	2	566	
O	Broughton	6,692	296	152	121	501	233	72	1,375	120	203	239	562		383	113	270	-	113	113	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
P	Pendleton	13,287	1,871	313	97	208	98	89	2,676	599	1,036	1,197	2,832		1,767	524	1,243	491	524	1,015	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	219	2	535	
	Total	83,830	13,102	1,997	484	1,188	482	266	17,519	3,723	6,429	7,428	17,580	20,440	11,394	4,193	7,201	1,205	4,193	5,398	5	7	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	1	2	-	2	7	1,590	10	2,675	
Q	Pendlebury																																							
		3,684	409	39	12	28	5	23	516	122	209	243	574	660	641	473	168	12	473	485	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-		1	225	-	-		
Total of Manchester, Salford and Townships																																								
1851 Census		390,468 390,872 ^a	59,465	10,932	4,020	4,894	2,147	1,425	82,883	16,273	28,226	33,035	77,534 ^b	92,249	55,925	21,775	34,150	5,847	21,775	27,622 ^c	27	22	2	7	4	4	3	4	-	2	-	8	4	12	1	13	27	8,246	32	10,427

^aThis discrepancy is not explained. One reason may be difference in areas included in some districts. The differences occur in districts F-G, P, and Q.
^bRichson estimated the total number between 4 and 15 years as 77,585 based on figures arrived at by proportions calculated on 1841 census. His figures were very close to the 1851 census given above.
^cRather than 27,622 he calculated the number in day schools as 27,346.

APPENDIX XVI

A.

TABLE 3

BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN MANCHESTER AND SALFORD DISTRICT

1849	Number of Births	Number of Deaths						
		Under 1 yr	1 and under 2 yrs	2 and under 3 yrs	3 and under 4 yrs	4 and under 5 yrs	5 and under 10 yrs	10 and under 15 yrs
Manchester	8,367	2,094	780	393	205	202	390	165
Salford	3,286	694	240	129	95	65	121	59
Total	11,653	2,788	1,020	522	300	267	511	224
(Census 1852)		Total deaths of children 5 years and under: 4,897						

[Report from the Select Committee,
P.P., 1852, XI, 523.]

TABLE 4
WEEKLY INCOME OF 777 FAMILIES IN MANCHESTER AND SALFORD

No. of schools	No. of families whose income was ascertained	Total number persons in family	Number of children at school	Total amount paid for education per week E s. d	No. of families whose probable income under 20s				Number of families whose probable income is over 20s						
					Under 10s	10s to 15s	15s to 20s	Total	20s to 25s	25s to 30s	30s to 40s	40s to 50s	50s to 60s	Above 60s	Total
Manchester	650	3,493	1,070	11 6 9	93	96	190	379	101	60	63	24	11	12	271
Salford	127	807	223	2 9 6	2	7	25	34	25	27	22	13	1	5	93
Total	777	4,300	1,293	14 6 3	95	103	215	413	126	87	85	37	12	17	364

Report from the Select Committee, P.P., 1852, XI, 523.

APPENDIX XVII

A.

TABLE 5

COMPARATIVE WAGE SCALE FOR WORKERS IN FOUR MILLS IN MANCHESTER

Year	Hours Per Week	Average Wage			
		Mill A	Mill B	Mill C	Mill D
1841	69	9s. 9d	11s. 3d	11s. 3d	9s. 4d
1851	60	10s. 4d	12s. 2d	12s. 2d	10s. 3d

B.

TABLE 6

COST OF SOME OF MOST COMMON FOODS FROM POOR LAW GUARDIANS MANCHESTER WORKHOUSE

Food	1841-42	1851-52	Percentage Increase or Decrease
Coarse Meat, per lb.	4-1/4d	3-1/4d	Decrease 23-1/2%
Fine Meat	5-3/4 to 6d	4-1/4d	25
Flour, 240 lbs.	48s. 11d	28s.	43
Oatmeal, 240 lbs.	27s. 10d	23s.	
Tea, 1 lb.	4s. 4-3/4d	3s. 2-3/5d	27
Coffee, 100 lbs.	163s.	100s.	39
Sugar, 100 lbs.	65s. 4d	34s. 6d	47
Rice, 100 lbs.	16s. 9d	13s. 3d	21
Potatoes, per load	6s. 6-3/4d	6s. 16d	Increase 12
Wheat, per quarter (25-28 lbs.)	65s. 3d	40s. 11d	Decrease 42
Bread, 4-lb. loaf	7-3/4d	4-3/4d	39

Bread Consumed by Working Classes. Statistics from a Baker in Manchester:

Family of 14 persons	- 30 loaves per week
Family of 10 persons	- 20 loaves per week
Family of 8 persons	- 15 loaves per week
Family of 6 persons	- 10 loaves per week

[Report from the Select Committee, P.P.,
1852-1853, XXIV, 340.]

APPENDIX XVIII

TABLE 7

ALLEGED CAUSES OF CHILDREN'S ABSENCE FROM SCHOOL, BEING THE RESULT
OF AN INQUIRY FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE IN THE POOREST DISTRICTS

	Manchester	Salford	Total
1 Number of sections of Registrar's district canvassed	19	7	26
2 Number of families visited	13,863	3,561	17,246
Children between 3 and 14 years in families visited:			
a. Total number	28,687	7,840	36,527
b. Children at work	3,745	1,408	5,153
c. Children not at work	24,942	6,432	31,374
3 Number of children at school			
a. Church, British, denominational or other school	7,318	2,056	9,374
b. Common private schools and denominational schools where name of teacher only is known	3,394	1,229	4,823
c. Total	10,712	3,285	14,197
4 Children who have never attended day school	14,030	3,147	17,177
a. From parents' indifference	373	25	398
b. From being too young	2,232	438	2,670
c. From sickness	192	44	236
d. Sundry causes	121	18	139
e. Alleged poverty	5,503	765	6,268
5 Children who have attended but are not now attending			
a. From parents' indifference	205	36	241
b. From sickness	525	144	669
c. Sundry causes	617	140	757
d. Alleged poverty	4,262	1,537	5,799
6 Total number of children at home from alleged poverty	9,765	2,302	12,067

[Report from the Select Committee, P.P.,
1852, XI, 70.]

APPENDIX XIX

TABLE 8

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN MANCHESTER

Number of Places of Worship	Manchester	Salford
Church of England	32	8
Wesleyan Methodist	16	4
Wesleyan Methodist Association	10	2
Methodist New Connexion	2	—
Welsh Wesleyan Methodist	1	1
Primitive Methodist	5	—
Independent Methodist	2	1
Welsh Calvinist Methodist	1	1
Calvinistic Methodist	1	—
Independent	17	4
Baptist	4	1
Particular Baptist	3	—
Welsh Baptist	1	—
General Baptist, New Connexion	—	1
Presbyterian Church in England	4	—
Scotch Presbyterian	—	1
United Presbyterian	2	—
Reformed Presbyterian	1	—
Scotch Church	1	—
Unitarians	3	—
Bible Christians	1	—
Christians	2	—
New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian)	1	1
Society of Friends	1	—
Roman Catholic	7	4
Greek Orthodox	1	—
Jews	2	—
Total	121	29

[Report from the Select Committee, P.P.,
1852, XI. Excerpt taken from "Census of
Great Britain, 1851, Religious Worship."]

APPENDIX XX

DISSOLUTION OF THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD
EDUCATION BILL COMMITTEE

MANCHESTER & SALFORD EDUCATION BILL COMMITTEE ROOMS,
4 YORK HOTEL BUILDINGS,
MANCHESTER.

18 April 1855.

DEAR SIR,

I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the Manchester and Salford Educational Association to inform you that they consider that the rejection of their Bill by Parliament last year was expressed in terms which precluded them from again introducing their own Bill—that the principles and details of that Bill proved in effect the Bond of union of this Association and that by persevering in any further assertion of their own exclusive views they would in all probability effect no useful purpose and only embarrass the settlement of the question by a public measure. As there are already two Bills for that purpose before the House of Commons and a third is promised this association are in hopes that the legislature will, without further loss of time, settle the principles on which education shall be offered to all classes of Her Majesty's Subjects. They have therefore determined to dissolve the Association and have desired me to communicate to you that the Association is accordingly dissolved from this day.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

WM. ENTWISTLE,

Chairman of the Manc. and Sal. Ed. Assn.

*To A. HENRY, Esq.,
Chairman of the N.P.S.A.*

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 150]

APPENDIX XXI

LATER EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN MANCHESTER

A. General Committee on Education (1857)

Sub-committee consisted of: Rev. G. H. G. Anson (*Rural Dean, Birch*); Rev. Dr Beard (*Unitarian*); Robert Brandt (*C. C. Judge, Est. Church*); T. P. Bunting (*Methodist, Tory*); Thomas Bazley, *Chairman (Pres. of Chamber of Commerce)*; C. E. Cawley (*Est. Ch.*); Rev. Canon Clifton; Wm. Entwistle, *Treasurer (Est. Ch.)*; Robert Gladstone (*Est. Ch.*); John King (*Quaker*); H. J. Leppoc (*Unitarian*); Rev. Dr W. McKerrow (*Presbyterian*); J. N. Nicholls (*Unitarian*); John Peel (*? Estab. Ch.*); Rev. J. Allanson Picton (*Congregationalist*); Rev. J. A. Pitcairn (*Est. Ch.*); Rev. Richson (*Est. Ch.*); Wm. Ross; R. M. Shipman (*Unitarian*); Francis Taylor (*Congregationalist*); A. Winterbottom; R. W. Smiles, *Secretary (Former sec. of N.P.S.A.)*.

Former members of the Manchester and Salford Education Committee: Anson, Brandt, Bunting, Clifton, Cowley, Entwistle, Gladstone, and Peel. Former members of the N.P.S.A.: Bazley, Beard, Leppoc, McKerrow, and Smiles.

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 155.]

B. Members of the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society (1864)

Edward Brotherton: Honorary Secretary

J. M. Bennett: President and Mayor of Manchester

Alfred Milne: Vice-President

W. R. Callendar, jun.: Vice-President; later to be especially prominent (1868-1870) on Manchester Education Bill Committee

General Committee:

R. C. Christie

E. R. LeMare: Member of Canon Stowell's congregation and who voiced the latter's views

J. S. Mayson: Former member of Manchester and Salford Education Committee

J. A. Bremner: Later to be Secretary of Manchester Education Bill Committee

Dr. John Watts: Former member of N.P.S.A.

S. Robinson:

Francis Taylor: Former member of N.P.S.A.

H. J. Leppoc: Former member of N.P.S.A.

John King, jun.

J. W. Maclure

Many other wealthy manufacturers were also members. [Richson and McKerrow were active supporters, but not members of the Committee.]

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 95-96.]

C. Manchester Education Bill Committee:

Francis Taylor: Chairman. Former Chairman of N.P.S.A. after Alex. Henry

Benjamin Armitage: Congregationalist

R. M. Shipman: Unitarian. Member of N.P.S.A.

R. C. Christie: Established Church. Member of M.E.A.S.

Dr. John Watts: Member N.P.S.A.

Herbert Phillips: Established Church

John S. Mayson: Methodist. Member of M. & S.E.C.

J. A. Bremner: Secretary of M.E.A.S.

The full committee consisted of forty members, and included the following:

Jacob Bright: Quaker and one of original members of L.P.S.A.

W. R. Callendar, jun.: Church of England

H. J. Leppoc: Unitarian. Former member of N.P.S.A.

J. Stores Smith

F. W. Walker: Church of England

A. Egerton: Church of England. M.P. for S.E. Lancashire

Oliver Heywood: Church of England. Former Secretary of Manchester & Salford Ed. Committee

[Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 155.]

APPENDIX XXII

A.

TABLE 9

EXTRACT FROM CENSUS OF GT. BRITAIN, 1851, EDUCATION, REPORT AND TABLES, P.P. 1852-3, XC.

<i>Description of Schools</i>	<i>Number of Schools</i>	<i>Number of Scholars</i>	<i>Number of Schools making return of Income</i>	<i>Permanent Endowment £s</i>	<i>Voluntary Contributions £s</i>	<i>Grants from Government £s</i>	<i>Payments by Scholars £s</i>	<i>Other Sources £s</i>	<i>TOTAL £s</i>
Total Day Schools ..	44,836	2,108,592	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Private Day Schools ..	29,425	695,422	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Public Day Schools ..	15,411	1,413,170	7,842	212,654	303,898	27,643	227,901	66,212	833,303
Supported by general or local taxation ..	610	48,826	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Supported by endowments ..	3,125	206,279	1,911	183,873	26,048	1,539	58,293	14,228	238,936
Supported by:									
Religious bodies ..	10,595	1,048,351	5,761	15,586	227,535	25,432	156,672	34,402	459,627
C. of E.—National Schools	3,720	464,975	2,397	8,342	104,614	15,262	59,594	16,434	204,246
—Others ..	4,851	336,532	2,149	4,393	75,151	2,870	43,670	10,917	137,506
Independents ..	431	47,406	282	142	9,742	89	10,567	924	21,464
Baptists ..	115	8,665	59	4	1,230	—	1,145	111	2,470
R.C. ..	311	38,533	103	220	5,104	626	4,495	447	10,892
Jews ..	10	1,234	6	50	917	—	368	386	1,661
Undenom. (British) ..	514	82,597	382	728	16,124	3,901	16,589	2,020	39,362
—Others ..	4	1,062	1	—	407	—	110	—	517
Other Public Schools (Non-Religious) ..	1,081	109,214	179	8,190	50,315	672	12,936	17,582	89,695
Ragged Schools ..	123	22,337	79	25	9,815	130	91	1,004	11,065
Factory Schools ..	115	17,834	15	—	823	215	917	52	2,007
Total British Schools (whether connected with religious bodies or not) ..	852	123,015	623	829	24,150	4,455	26,590	3,108	59,132

B. MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR MANCHESTER BOROUGH 1832-1874

Parl. of 1833	Mark Philips Charles Poulett Thomson	} 15 Dec. 1832
" " 1835	<i>Ibid.</i>	
" " 1837	<i>Ibid.</i>	
Parl. of 1841	Mark Philips Thos. Milner-Gibson	} 1 July 1841
" " 1847	John Bright	
" " 1852	<i>Ibid.</i>	} 29 July 1847
" " 1857	Sir John Potter, Kt. James Aspinall Turner	
" " 1859	James Aspinall Turner Thos. Bazley	} 9 July 1852
" " 1865	Thos. Bazley Edw. James	
" " 1868	Hugh Birley Thos. Bazley Jacob Bright	} 30 March 1857 (now Manc. City)
" " 1874	Hugh Birley Sir Thos. Bazley Wm. Romaine Callender, jun.	
		} 2 May 1859
		} 14 July 1865
		} 18 Nov. 1868
		} 7 Feb. 1874

WARDENS OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH

7 March 1782.	Richard Assheton, D.D.
12 July 1800.	Thos. Blackburne, D.C.L.
8 March 1823.	Thos. Calvert, D.D.

BISHOPS OF MANCHESTER (SEE CONSTITUTED IN 1847)

James Prince Lee.	1847.
James Fraser.	1870.

C. First Manchester School Board (1870).

Canon Toole, G. Richardson (*Catholics*); Herbert Birley, Rob. Gladstone, W. R. Callender, jun., Jos. Lamb, Thos. Dale (*Est. Ch.*); Lydia Becker; Rev. Dr M'Kerrow (*Presbyterian*); Dr John Watts, Oliver Heywood (*Manchester Bill Committee Representatives*); Wm. Birch, Junior (*Independent*); Richard Haworth, John Cooper (*Wesleyans*).

[B. and C. from Maltby, *National Elementary Education*, 155]

APPENDIX XXIII

A. VICE-PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

³ *id.*, cxi, 825. The Vice-Presidents during the course of the nineteenth century, and the secretaries to the department were as follows:—

<i>Vice-Presidents</i>			
1857-8	W. F. Cowper (afterwards Mr. Cowper-Temple, and Lord Mount-Temple)	1878-80	G. F. Hamilton
		1880-85	A. J. Mundella
1858	C. B. Adderley (Lord Norton)	1885	E. Stanhope
1859-64	R. Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke)	1885	H. T. Holland
1864-66	H. A. Bruce (Lord Aberdare)		(Viscount Knutsford)
1866	H. T. L. Corry	1886	Lyon Playfair
1867-68	R. Montagu	1886	H. T. Holland
1868-74	W. E. Forster		(Viscount Knutsford)
1874-78	D. F. S. Ryder (Earl of Harrowby and Viscount Sandon)	1887-92	W. Hart-Dyke
		1892-95	A. H. D. Acland
		1895-1902	J. E. Gorst
<i>Secretaries</i>			
1839-49	J. Kay-Shuttleworth	1884-90	P. Cumin
1849-69	R. Lingens	1890-1903	G. Kekewich
1870-84	F. R. Sandford	1902-11	R. L. Morant

B. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILLS

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILLS PRESENTED 1850-70

Promotion of Secular Education Bill. *P.P.* (Bills) 1850, ii, 461. W. J. Fox.

Promotion of Education (Cities and Boroughs) Bill. *P.P.* 1852-3, iii, 235. Lord J. Russell.

Promotion of Education Bill. *P.P.* 1854-5, ii, 235. Lord John Russell.

Promotion of Education Bill. *P.P.* 1854-5, ii, 245. J. Pakington.

Free Schools Bill. *P.P.* 1854-5, ii, 461. Milner Gibson.

School Grants, Security for Application Bill. 1854-5, vi, 71.

The Borough Education Bill. *P.P.* 1857 (Sess. 1), i, 95. J. Pakington.

The Education of the Poorer Classes Bill. *P.P.* 1867, ii, 683. H. A. Bruce.

The Elementary Education Bill. *P.P.* 1867-8, ii, 359. H. A. Bruce.

Regulation of Distribution of Sums for Elementary Education Bill. *H. of L.* 1868, iv, 227. Duke of Marlborough.

Further Provision for the Education of Children Bill. *H. of L.* 1868-9, iv, 479. Lord Townshend.

The Borough Education Bill. *H. of L.* 1868-9, iv, 473. Lord Campbell.

The Borough Education Bill. *H. of L.* 1870, iv, 153. Lord Campbell.

The Elementary Education Bill. *P.P.* 1870, i, 505. W. E. Forster.

[Connell, *Educational Thought*, 92, 156]

APPENDIX XXIV

TABLE 10

TOTAL SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN OF THE POOR

	Church of England	Independent or Congregational	Wesleyan Methodist	Roman Catholic	British Schools	Baptist
Before 1801	709	8	7	10	16	
1801-1811	350	-	4	10	28	
1811-1821	756	12	17	14	77	
1821-1831	897	21	17	28	45	
1831-1841	2,002	95	62	69	191	
1841-1851	3,448	269	239	166	449	
Not Stated	409	17	17	14	46	
Total: 1851	8,571	431	363	311	852	115
Annual Income per Student	14s. 5d	Not available	15s. 3d	14s. 7d	12s. 11d	Not available
Religious Education	Idea that secular and religious education inseparable. Religious education based on scriptures, liturgy and catechism. Many schools accepted a "conscience clause" freeing children of Dissenters from specific religious training and attending chapel. Accepted government grants. Other sources of income: endowments, voluntary contributions, pupil fees, funds raised by "Royal Letter."	Before 1843 most schools connected with British and Foreign School Society. Daily reading of the Bible and exclusion of all particular creeds and catechisms. Aimed to provide religious education but also religious freedom. Strict Voluntaryists accepted no government aid.	Schools often partly supported by British and Foreign School Society. Daily instruction commenced and concluded with prayer, the Bible and Wesleyan Catechism. No doctrine to be taught contrary to Wesley's "Notes on New Testament." Attend Wesleyan Chapel on Sundays. Conscience Clause. Accepted grants except period 1843-1846.	Religious and secular education inseparable 1847-by virtue of a special minute of the Committee of Council on Education received aid from Parliamentary Grant and have a government inspector approved by their "Poor School Committee."	Maintained by a combination of persons of different communities. Not connected with any particular congregation Principles of education: 1. Holy Scriptures in authorized version or extracts from it read and taught daily. 2. No catechism or formulaary particular to any religious denomination taught in regular hours of school. 3. Every pupil attend Church or Sunday school of his parent's choice.	Most resources used to support British schools. Opposed to teaching particular religious denomination. Strict Voluntaryists after 1843.
Educational Societies	National Society, 1811	Congregational Board of Education		Poor School Committee, 1847	British and Foreign School Society, 1814	Voluntary School Society, 1843
Government Grants	1839-1850 £405,000	None	1839-1850 £8,000	1839-1850 £1,049	1839-1850 £51,000	None

Note: Horace Mann notes that four-fifths of children who have been to public school must have been instructed in Church of England Schools, but according to the religious census Disenters number almost half of the total population in 1851.

Excerpts from Census of Great Britain, 1851, Education, Report and Tables, P.P., 1852-1853, XC.

APPENDIX XXV

TABLE 11

EDUCATION ENGLAND AND WALES

	Public Day Schools ¹	Private Day Schools ²	Total	Sunday Schools
Schools	15,518	30,584	46,042	83,514
Scholars	1,122,982	721,396	2,144,378	2,407,642

¹Public Day Schools: Those which gather any portion of their income from any source beside scholars. Types: (1) Supported by general or local taxation: military, naval, workhouse, prison; (2) Endowed; (3) Those supported by religious bodies; (4) Other public schools: blind, deaf, etc.

²Private Day Schools: Private property--supported entirely by fees from students

Religious Denominations	Number of Schools and Scholars			
	Excluding Schools Which Endowment Exceeds Sub- scriptions of Religious Bodies		All Schools Receiving Any Aid from Religious Bodies	
	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars
Supported by denominations				
Church of England	8,571	801,567	10,555	929,474
Church of Scotland	5	946	5	946
United Presbyterian Church	3	217	3	217
Presbyterian Church in England	25	2,447	28	2,723
Scottish Presbyterians	1	345	1	345
Presbyterians	7	1,321	13	2,050
Independent (Congregational)	431	47,406	453	50,186
Baptists	115	8,665	131	9,300
Society of Friends	23	2,247	33	3,026
Unitarians	30	3,736	39	4,306
Moravians	7	366	7	366
Wesleyan or Methodists	353	39,764	381	41,144
Methodist New Connection	12	1,815	14	1,851

TABLE 11--Continued

Religious Denominations	Number of Schools and Scholars			
	Excluding Schools Which Endowment Exceeds Sub- scriptions of Religious Bodies		All Schools Receiving And Aid from Religious Bodies	
	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars
Primitive Methodists	25	1,297	26	1,342
Bible Christians	8	367	8	367
Wesleyan Association	10	1,112	11	1,176
Calvinistic Methodists	41	2,814	44	2,920
Lady Huntington's Connexion	9	644	10	714
New Church	9	1,551	9	1,551
Dissenters	43	5,392	49	5,865
Isolated Protestant Congregations	14	1,144	14	1,144
Lutherans	1	157	2	221
French Protestants	1	15	1	15
German Mission	1	109	2	116
Roman Catholic	311	38,583	339	41,382
Jews	10	1,234	12	2,361
Undenominational:				
British	(857) 514	82,597	514	82,597
Others	4	1,062	4	1,062
Total	10,595	1,048,851	12,708	1,188,786

Population of England and Wales:

1818 - 11,642,483

1833 - 14,600,000

1851 - 17,927,609 (Nearly 1,000,000 who never attended school, or
attended for very short time. 600,000 at work)[Excerpt from Census of Great Britain, 1851,
P.P., 1852-1853, XC.]

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